THE

Malabar Quarterly Review.

---:O:---

EDITED BY

C. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B. A.

VOL. IV.

ERNAKULAM:

PRINTED AT THE VIDYA VILASUM PRESS.

1905.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

PAGE

SRI SANKARACHARYA'S METHOD AS A TEACHER. By Mr. K. Sundararama Aiyar, M. A. 1

A PILGRIMAGE TO BADIRIKASRAMA.—By Mr. R. Ananthakrishna Sastri. 9

A CHAPTER FROM AN OBSCURE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.—By Mr. T. Ramakrishna, B. A. 22

A PAGE FROM THE HISTORY OF COCHIN.—By Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. ... 26

A PEEP INTO OLD SCENES.—By Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar, B. A., B. L. 45

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.—By Mr. K. K. Bernard, M. A. 50

ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.—By Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu, B. A., ... 59

WHEN VIJAYANAGAR WAS BUILT?—By Pundit S. M. Natesa Sastri. 68

THE GAYA OF MALABAR: TIRUNELLI.—By Mr. A. Krishna Poduval, B. A., M. R. A. S. 72

A LEGEND OF S. THOMAS.—By Mr. E. Drew, M. A. ... 80

A WEIRD DANCE.—By Mr. A. P. Smith. 81

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS. 84

THE TRANSLATION OF MARY MYCROFT.—By Mr. A. P. Smith. 86

ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.—By Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu, B. A. 91

THE PATH OF THE NAYAR SOCIETY TO THE "FAMILY STAGE."—By Mr. K. Kannan Nair, M. R. A. S. 110

THE LAND OF SRI SANKARACHARYA.—By Mr. M. Seshagiri Prabhu, M. A. 117

KUMUNAN: A PATRON OF TAMIL BARDS.—By Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B. A. 134

COL. JAMES WELSH'S MALABAR REMINISCENCES. By Dewan Bahadur E. K. Krishnan, B. L. 137

IS THE SELF AN ILLUSION?—By Mr. C. Anthappayi, B. A. 144

A CHAPTER FROM AN OBSCURE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.—By Mr. T. Ramakrishna, B. A. 154

PAGE.

IT THERE NOT A CAUSE?—By Mr. Eric Drew, M. A. ... 161
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS. 184
THE COMMONER VEGETABLE FIBRES OF TRAVANCORE.—By Mr. A. M. Sawyer. 185
WHAT IS PERSONALITY?—By Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu, B. A. 210
OUR NATIONAL GAMES.—By Mr. M. Raja Raja Varma RAJA, M. A., B. L. 219
JAINA CENTRES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.—By Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row, M. A. 229
A CHAPTER FROM AN OBSCURE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.—By Mr. T. Ramakrishna, B. A. 236
GUMS.—By Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillai, M. R. A. S. ... 247
A PRINCE OF THE LAND OF CHARITY.—By Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar, B. A., B. L. 251
ADVAITISM IN BRIEF.—By Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar. B. A., B. L. 255
COL. JAMES WELSH'S MALABAR REMINISCENCES. By Dewan Bahadur E. K. Krishnan, B. L. 257
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS. 269
A SOUTH INDIAN MAHARAJAH.—By Mr. S. Parameswara Aiyar, M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. 271
A REMARKABLE BOOK.—By Mr. K. K. Bernard, M. A. 287
OCHIRAKKALI.—By Mr. T. Ramalingam Pillai, B. A. ... 300
ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.—By Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu, B. A. 306
COCHIN AS DESCRIBED BY EARLY TRAVELLERS. By Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. 317
THE INDIAN NATIONAL PROBLEM IN BRIEF.—By Mr. N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M. A., M. B. & C. M. ... 334
THE NATTUKOTTAI CHETTIES.—By Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B. A., B. L. 352
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS. 357

THE

MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Vol. IV.] MARCH, 1905. [No. 1.

SRI SANKARACHARYA'S METHOD AS A TEACHER.

IN Sri Sankaracharya's *Bhashya* on the Taittiriya-Upanishad the *Purvapakshin* says to the Vedantin:—"How is it that, when there are many opponents, you are an upholder of (the doctrine of) One Existence? As you rely on the import of the Vedas, the many who hold the doctrine of Plurality of Existence and who do not accept (the authority of) the Vedas are your opponents. So you cannot clear my doubt." To which the Vedantin replies:—"To me an auspicious circumstance this which you have said, *viz.*, that against me who maintain the doctrine of One Existence there are many opponents who maintain Plurality. I shall conquer them all, and I shall now begin the discussion." In this passage we clearly see that the Acharya had to meet and overthrow numerous determined opponents before establishing his Vedantic doctrine and get himself accepted as the World-Teacher (*Loka-Guru*). It enables us to confirm from his own writings the substantial accuracy of the later portraiture of his times as a period of constant contention against numerous opposing sections of speculative opinion. We also see with what alacrity he welcomed opposition and what majestic confidence of success marked his entry into the arena of discussion. And it was doubtless because his doctrine met the requirements of the age and of such traditional modes of interpretation as were still current among the surviving schools of Vedantic teaching that his dialectics produced so profound an impression and gained such immense acceptance during his still unforgotten intellectual campaign. But the dialectics form in themselves an

interesting and inviting study, as everyone who has enjoyed the privilege of undertaking the study of some at least of the Acharya's *Bhashyas* can unhesitatingly testify.

A teacher's method is at least as important as the doctrines he propounds. The doctrines are almost always imperfectly apprehended, and often even greatly mistaken, if either in the method of exposition, or even in the style of writing, there are flaws or faults of a character to impede the student's progress. Such faults of method often spring from an imperfect comprehension in the teacher's own mind of the cardinal principles of his teaching and of the logical or experimental basis on which they stand; they also, in some cases, attach themselves like ugly incrustations to an essentially sound and savoury kernel of truth and wisdom.

Sri Sankaracharya's method of exposition is absolutely perfect in substance and in style, and this is a very great advantage to the student of his system of Vedanta. That system is still in some quarters attacked as difficult to comprehend and as even, to some extent, opposed to the ordinary experience of humanity. There are many who do not share this view and feel perfect assurance as to its consonance with the facts of man's spiritual experience. The great favour with which it has been everywhere welcomed by modern minds may itself be taken as a proof of what has just been stated. We must also understand that the difference between his system and other systems of Vedanta lies only in the mode of viewing or stating the relations between the various categories of existence. Whatever be the difference of view or statement, no one can have the right to dogmatise about the truth or error of a Vedantic system unless he is able to say that his own *spiritual and metaphysical experience* is in flat contradiction to the propositions which are fundamental to it. Even granting for the moment that the Advaita system of Sri Sankaracharya is, on one ground or another, difficult to grasp, it is a matter for thankfulness that the difficulty is not in any degree augmented by faults of presentation. The merits of the Acharya's exposition are great, indeed; and the hold they take of the student's mind commences from the very first and remains to the last. We propose to briefly explain what we regard as the leading characteristics of his method. We may premise that our remarks apply not only to his masterpiece—the *Sariraka-Bhashya* on the *Brahma-sutras*—but also to his *Bhashyas* on the Gita and the Upanishads.

Sri Sankaracharya begins every one of his commentaries with an introduction (*Avatarika*) in which he sums up in the fewest possible words the leading points of the treatise taken up for elucidation. In particular, the *Adhyasa-bhashya*—as the introduction to his commentary on the *Brahma-sutras* is usually called—contains a masterly statement of the fundamental positions of the Advaita-Vedanta—*viz.*, the doctrines of *Adhyasa* or *Avidya* and of the unity of the *Atman*. It is a great advantage to the learner to have his mind thus prepared at the very commencement of his course of study, to have, as it were, the key put into his hands with which to lay open the door of entry to the heart of every topic discussed in the treatise. In the *second* place, we cannot fail to notice the completeness of the Acharya's definitions of words and ideas. Definitions are rarely given with accuracy and completeness at the commencement of scientific and philosophical treatises, and the want of such too often leads to misconception, especially in the case of learners commencing a new study. It is generally at the conclusion of a treatise that writers are able to give satisfactory definitions. Even where definitions are attempted at the commencement, they are more or less tentative and incomplete, and only intended to give the reader a start, rather than to state the full connotation of the terms used. But Sri Sankaracharya's definitions are absolutely perfect, and there is no need to recast them so as to suit a more advanced stage of knowledge. Numerous instances can be given. The definition of *Adhyasa* in the introduction above referred to is itself an instance of this feature of the Acharya's treatises.

Another characteristic feature is that the reasonings of the Acharya invariably proceed from the simple to the complex. The arguments that lie on the surface—those which will occur even to superficial reasoners—are given in the first instance, and then the more recondite ones are brought up in due succession, so that as the conclusion is being reached, the student is almost borne on to it as if on the crest of an irresistible wave. It is just when the Acharya's process of piling up argument on argument in their due order has emphatically told on the reader's mind and convictions that he almost invariably winds up the discussion by quoting the *Sruti*. In India, the paramount authority of the Vedas has always been acknowledged, and it is the final arbiter of all true doctrine.

Sri Sankaracharya, therefore, allows his powerful battery of ratiocination to produce its full effect before calling the reserve power of revelation into his service. That is the final court of appeal, and with its deliverance the adversary's mouth is gagged and the truth is established beyond dispute or cavil.

Sri Sankaracharya was also the first to bring into vogue the characteristically Indian method of stating the opponent's case—the *Purvapaksha*—clearly and fully before taking up the established doctrine (*Siddhanta*), and in every case his exposition of the *Purvapaksha* is so thorough and lucid that the doctrine to be controverted needs no better advocate. As he marshals the successive arguments for the *Purvapaksha*, the cumulative effect is often so great that it seems as if the case is absolutely closed and may be finally left to rest at that stage. The Acharya is not merely fair to his opponent, but for the moment identifies himself with him. Not only the resources of his mind, but even those of his heart, are for the moment placed at his service, so that his gratification may be complete. "Thushyatu Durjanah" (Let the wicked be happy) is a state of feeling which only the superior Aryan mind, with its capacity for long suffering and its love of forgiveness for its own sake, can appreciate. Sri Sankaracharya may almost be said to be a discoverer here, and every other great teacher after him has adopted the same form of exposition.

That what has been just said of the *Purvapaksha* is true also of the *Siddhanta* need not be insisted upon. All the limitless resources of the Acharya's learning and dialectical power are brought into full exercise to establish his own doctrine, and his treatises still remain the only complete and satisfactory sources and authorities for the study and comprehension of the *Advaita* doctrine. This system has had a long succession of eminent teachers—a galaxy of brilliantly gifted men absolutely without parallel in the history of any other school of philosophy, Indian or foreign. From Suresvaracharya better known as the *Vartikakara*—downwards to Appayya Dikshita and even later, all Advaitic thinkers not only acknowledge the irresistible logic and fascination of the monumental works of the Founder, but regard him as an *Avatar* of the Lord Himself. Though the cardinal and essential doctrines remain, as they must, untouched, the system has undergone important modifications in matters of detail at the hands of

some of the later teachers. For, the eminent philosopher, Appayya Dikshita, speaks of the Acharya's doctrine as "that blessed teaching which, issuing from the glorious lotus mouth of the divine teacher, attained a thousand different forms, &c." But whatever the transformations undergone in reaching the later expounders, the works of the "divine" Founder still form the fountain-source from which these later representatives of the doctrine derive their inspiration. In fact, the passage of time has only served to bring into relief the unmatched lucidity, the concentration of intellectual resources, and the sublime wealth of philosophic thought exhibited by the Acharya in these immortal *Bhashyas.*

It may be asked why, when there is so much clearness and precision of statement, and such closeness of reasoning and continuity in the development of the argument, there has been such variety in interpreting the Advaita doctrine. The answer is:—the nature and amount of this variety is apt to be a good deal exaggerated. The variety does not exist in essentials, but only in non-essentials. In all the later variations of doctrine, there is no mincing of any kind in regard to the fundamental teaching that there is only one Existence—one Absolute Reality and only one—and that the universe of matter is a conditioned entity, not unconditioned (*Bhuman*), and so is a mere complex of names and forms resting on the Noumenal *Atman* as its inseparable basis (*adhisthana*) and deriving the phenomenal reality it has from that circumstance. This relation is what the Vedantins call *Ananyatva*—Inseparability—which is not the same thing as *Abheda* (Identity), though this word is also of great importance in the system, but only in connection with the essential identity postulated by it in regard to the *Jivas* or individual souls. Again, all schools agree in regarding Prakriti as *jada* (negation of intelligence) and as *Anirvachaniya* (something beyond the power of language to describe), for it is neither *Sat* (Reality) nor *Asat* (non-Reality), but *Vyavahara* (Phenomenon). All schools also agree in discarding the theory of creation (*Arambhavada*). They differ only as to the mode of conceiving or describing the relation existing as aforesaid between the *Atman* and *Prakriti.* We cannot here enter into the theories known as *Avacchedaka, Bimba-pratibimba,* and so on. But we have to remember that these differences of view do not relate to fundamentals, but only to non-essentials, and so they cannot be put forward

as showing any defect of method or statement in the Acharya's exposition of Vedic doctrine. "*Prasanna-Gambhira*"—pellucid, yet sublime—is the epithet commonly applied to his work. The meaning is that, while his method of exposition is like the crystal waters of a mountain-spring, the sublimity and profundity of his doctrine is such as to call into requisition for its comprehension the unstinted expenditure of brain-power even from gifted minds. It is no wonder, then, that there have been some variations in comprehension or in statement among later thinkers of this school as regards points of detail, of more or less importance.

Perhaps the most fundamental point in connexion with the Acharya's method is the one which concerns the exact relation of the Advaita doctrine to the works on which he has commented in order to set it forth in all its various aspects. Dr. Thibaut and some other European scholars hold that the *Advaita* doctrine is the one really taught in the Upanishads and that, accepting the Upanishadic teaching as his own, the Acharya has either read it into the Brahma Sutras or at least supplemented their contents with the necessary additions in order to bring them into line with the essence of the Vedic religion. No one who knows anything of Indian tradition will grant that the *Brahma Sutras* were ever accepted in this land by any school of thinkers otherwise than as containing the essence of the doctrine of the Upanishads. In India the Vedas have been all-in-all, and every system of theistic doctrine and every religious text-book of every such system have accepted their authority *in toto*. The *Brahma Sutras*, in spite of the great reverence they command from all truly thoughtful and devout minds, are regarded only as a *Smriti*, and so owe the authority they command entirely to the fact that they contain in a convenient, concise and systematised form all that is essential in the practical teachings which are found scattered or only hinted at in the voluminous Upanishadic literature. It is, therefore, the supreme function of an Acharya to teach his disciples and the world at large the essence of the doctrines as contained in the Upanishads. When it is said that Sri Sankaracharya's teachings are in consonance with the doctrine contained in the Upanishads, everything that has to be said in their favour has been said, and he stands fully justified before the world. Even supposing that the *Brahma Sutras* do not teach the *Advaitic* doctrine, Sri Sankaracharya, in using this famous text-book of Hindu religion

for his own purposes, was at perfect liberty to introduce into his exposition of it the modifications and additions needed and to interpret it so as to convey to the student's mind the essential points of the Vedic and Upanishadic doctrine. It is no derogation from the Acharya's work to say that the Maya doctrine which plays so prominent a part in his system of theism is not to be found in the Brahma Sutras, so long as it is conceded that that doctrine is supported by the authority of the Upanishads. As for the *Gita*, though technically it is a *Smriti*, it is practically accepted as an Upanishad, and even styled as such, and all the essentials of the *Advaita* doctrine can be established, as they have frequently been, on the authoritative basis of its teachings alone.

And now a word as to the Acharya's Sanskrit style. To say that it is everywhere marked by extreme lucidity is saying the least possible. It is simply impossible to convey an idea of the simplicity, clearness and even flow of thought which characterise all his writings. There is not a single superfluous word, not a single weak or jarring phrase, not a single obscurity of expression. The flow of ideas and of language is simply marvellous, while all along the peculiarily high level of subtlety and profundity of thought is preserved. "The style is the man"—says the famous French adage; and nothing can indicate better the wonderful vigour and majesty of the Acharya's intellect than the clearness and fluency with which he expresses himself on every possible occasion. It is a perpetual feast of reason and flow of soul, and rare and transcendent must be the gifts both of head and heart which can provide it for the edification and delectation of mankind.

It has been sometimes asserted that the age of scholia and commentaries ushered in by the *Sariraka-bhashya* and other B*hashyas* was an age of intellectual decline and that the age of originality had passed away. No doubt all Sri Sankaracharya's works take the form of *Bhashyas* or commentaries on the Three *Prasthanas*. But to base an argument on a mere matter of form, without taking into consideration the substance of the Acharya's expositions and the marvellous power of thought he displays in every one of his B*hashyas* is simply to betray the extent of one's incapacity to judge in matters like these. It is enough to read any one of the B*hashyas* to receive the right impression regarding his mighty intellect and the use he has made of it. India's wisdom and

India's Dharma have, like all things that have been supremely great in the world, suffered a good deal from the ignoble prejudices and passions of men. It is when men begin to make the realisation of the *Atman* and the divine law of love—not the bestial law of progress by strife and cunning—the basis of their activities in life, that their minds will attain the calmness needed to comprehend and appreciate the teachings given to his race by one whose intellect was perhaps the mightiest ever seen on earth among men and who used his supreme gifts for the loftiest of all purposes with an ardour of enthusiasm and a loving tenderness rarely equalled and never surpassed.

K. SUNDARARAMAN.

A PILGRIMAGE TO BADIRIKASRAMA.

THE pious Hindu ever looks forward to that period of his life when after the cessation of his mundane activity he may spend the last days of his existence in repose and retirement in the forest. This stage of life is imposed upon the Hindu by his sacred laws and is known as the *Vanaprasthasrama* or *Munivrithi*. Kalidasa[1] says that the sovereigns of the divine race of Ikshvaku, in which Sri Ramachandra was born, passed their old age by *Munivrithi* and cast off this mortal coil by the process of *Yoga*. Again, when Sakuntala, the hermit-maid, before separating to the palace of her royal spouse at Hastinapura, expressed a longing to re-visit her forest-home, Kasyapa the holy sage, and her foster-father, exhorts her to remember that the fitting time for it must be the *finale* of a strenuous life of sovereign sway and not until the kingly pair are relieved of the burden of empire by a descendant sprung from their loins.[2]

The Himalayan range with its extensive forests and its snow-clad peaks naturally appeared as the most fitting place for retirement to the mighty Kshatriya kings and the devout Brahmin *Rishis* of Aryavarta. In the *Bhagavata*[3] Yudhishtira lamented that his vanquished uncle, the aged and blind king Dhritharashtra, left the palace in secret, stricken by affliction at the simultaneous loss of his vast army, his kingdom, and his sons. Narada consoled him and said that Dhritarashtra, followed by his faithful consort, retired to the Himalayas—the delightful resort of kings who have laid down the royal sceptre, just like the Solar kings of the the race of Ikshvaku. Yudhistira and his brothers of the Lunar dynasty directed their *mahaprasthana* pilgrimage to the north—the goal to which *mahatmas* have always turned their footsteps.[4]

Buddha, rising from his meditation, looked in turn at each of the cardinal points and declared that the northern direction alone tended to lift a man out of the never-ending whirlpool of *Samsara*.[5] The bracing climate of the snow-clad hills, the magnificent scenery, the solitude of the Himalayan range, and the three sacred streams of

1. Raghuvamsa, 1st chapter.
2. Sakuntala Nataka, 4th Act.
3. Ibid I—13, 28 and 31.
4. Bhaghavata, I. 15—44.
5. Kshemendracharitra.

Alakananda, Mandakini and Bhagirati flowing trident-like from its recesses, indicated its fitness as a place of meditation where spiritual insight can be developed. Indra invokes Haimavati, the presiding deity of the Himalayas in the Kenopanishad for his enlightenment. All the Puranas in one voice extol the efficacy of a residence in the Himalayan forests as conducive to the propress of man's spirituality and as a centre for his psychic development. Such a centre is to be found in the range of the lofty height where Narayana and Mahadeva are enshrined in the sacred groves of the Badirikasrama. For each age, the *Rishis* declare there is a focus for the development of spiritual influences. In the Kali age and even up to the termination of the present *kalpa*, Badirikasrama is declared to be pre-eminently such a centre, for it is sanctified by the presence of Narayana, whose holy feet are worshipped by the divine Rishis.[6] In his final advice to the beloved disciple Uddhava Sri Krishna says[7] "Depart to my *asrama* called Badiri where, purified by the sight of the sacred waters of the Alakananda, you should realise the teachings already imparted to you by me." The Rishis, such as Narada, frequented Badirikashrama for the re-kindling of their spirituality as the happiest spot for mortals in the whole of Bharatavarsha and the abode of Narayana whose attributes are *Dharma* and *Gnana*. The Acharyas who have commented upon the Vedanta Sutras and who, it is popularly believed, emanated from the higher spiritual planes to be the teachers and guides of afflicted humanity in the present age, followed the example of the *Rishis* by retiring to Badiri in order to equip themselves for their task. It is made incumbent upon every pious Hindu to spend the last days of his life in pilgrimages to the shrines of Lord Jaganatha in the East, of Ramanatha in the South, of Dwarakanatha in the West, and finally of Badirinatha in the North, completing a circuit round the holy land of Bharata.

In Brahmakapala, a place close to the shrine of Sri Badirinath, the *Shastras* enjoin that the Hindu who is anxious for the salvation of his ancestors should offer a *pinda* to the manes (the pitris) after which the performance of the annual *Sraddha* required by the Puranas is said to be sinful. And in order to emphasise the fact that the Hindu after leading the life of a

6. Bhagavata, X. 87—6 and XI. 4—6.
7. Bhagavata, XI. 29—40 to 47.

Grihasta (householder) and discharging the debt due to the *Devas*, *Rishis*, *Pitris*, and to society should finally retire from the circle of duties imposed upon a mundane existence, he is required to offer a final *pinda* to his own Atman or self.

The *Kedarakanda* of the *Skandapurana* gives a description of this sacred spot and regulates the manner of the pilgrimage. On the same lofty range known as Badiri, the Lord Siva is enshrined at Kedara in the west which is about 1200 feet above the sea level. The Lord Narayana sits at Badirikasrama in the east which is also known by the name of Visala and Naranarayanasrama at a height of 11000 feet.

The route via Naini Tal is along a better laid out road and on a higher level. It is sometimes adopted by the pilgrims. But the more religious of them take the route via Haridwar as it is the one laid down in the *kedavakanda* in order to make a *pradakshina* round the holy spots, *i. e.*, a circuit beginning from the east and terminating at the west. Both the routes are equal in distance.

The length of the roadway from Haridwar to Rudraprayag is 102 miles. From there the route to Kedarnath to the west is forty-nine miles more. From Rudraprayag to Badirinath is seventy-nine miles.

On account of the heavy snowfall it is possible to keep the temples open for worship only for four or five months in the year. On an auspicious day in the beginning of May the temples are thrown open to the pilgrims and they are closed as soon as the heavy fall of snow renders human abode in the snowy heights impossible. During the period of closure the Devas, it is said, keep up the worship at the sacred shrines.

In all mountainous tracts the route for climbers is furnished by the water way of the rivers. So also here the road to Badirinath and Kedarnath is along the banks of the Ganges which separates into the two rivers Mandakini and Alakananda at Rudraprayag.

The Puranas direct the pilgrims to proceed without any travelling conveniences such as shoes, etc. Accordingly, Yudhistira and his brothers in their *maliaprasthana* pilgrimage cast off all *impedimenta*. The sharp pointed pebbles on the footpath make the feet of the pious traveller sore, to which is added the discomfort produced by the intense cold and the blinding snowy whiteness of the peaks in the higher ranges which the pious pilgrim willingly endures.

The proper time for pilgrimages is about the month of April *i. e.*, just before the opening season. Later on the rains commence and the path is broken up by mountain torrents and rendered almost impassable. To persons intent upon performing the pilgrimage and who are not endowed with the physical endurance of the mighty Pandava brothers, carriers are now available. A light bodied man of average weight can be carried by one man at a cost of rupees forty or fifty, while persons of more than average weight can procure a *dooly*—a more comfortable method of transport—carried by four coolies, at a cost of about a hundred rupees. The carriers leave their burden on the return journey at Mailchowri which is the extreme limit of their mountain country and from there Khatgodam, the nearest Railway station on the Naini Tal road, which is at a distance of 75 miles, can be reached at an additional cost of rupees ten and twenty-five respectively.

The pilgrim who prefers to walk rather than use a hired transport can do a distance of eight or nine miles in the morning and three or four miles in the evening which can be increased from fifteen to eighteen miles per diem according to his bodily vigour. The distance of the whole circuit is 416 miles which, at the rate of twelve miles a day and providing for stoppages at the intermediate sacred bathing places, will take on the whole about forty days to traverse. This period is known as a "mandala" which at least should be spent in the Himalayas by a pilgrim.

The inhabitants of these hilly tracts are mostly Brahmins and Kshatriyas. They provide small huts built of Kusha grass for the shelter of the pilgrims on the route at a distance of every three or four miles. There are also petty bazaars kept by them where wheat flour, rice, dholl and other articles of consumption are offered for sale. These are mainly the products of the Himalayan tracts which have been converted into extensive wheat fields wherever possible. The hill people in the bazaars provide their customers with metal vessels for culinary purposes, etc., as pilgrims find it difficult to carry even such small burdens in the steep ascent. No discomfort of any kind need be experienced by the pilgrim who is prepared to spend money.

The first place of interest on the route from Haridwar is Hrishikesasrama on the fourteenth mile. In the cold season 4000, or 5000 *Sadhus* descend to this spot from the higher ranges. It

also contains a number of *Sadhus* as permanent residents, who reside in huts of Kusha grass on the banks of the Ganges and spend their days in holy meditation. It is said that Sri Sankaracharya founded at this spot the first of his *mutts* on the Himalayan range and called it Bharatasrama in commemoration of Bharatas' *tapas* at this place. Sad to say the *mutt* is now in ruins. Close by is a *Tapthakunda* or spring of lukewarm water where pilgrims bathe before plunging into the ice-cold water of the Ganges. According to the rules of pilgrimage a day's residence at this holy spot is enjoined. Three miles further on is the Lakshmanasrama where the pilgrim sees the first suspension bridge on the route. In former days these bridges consisted of an arrangement of a tight rope slung over the valley with a cradle of bamboos suspended to it. The passage across by such a means was a matter of tremor to the unaccustomed pilgrim and sometimes also dangerous. Such bridges are even now to be seen in the outlying parts on either side of the pilgrim's route and these even now the hill people are accustomed to use. They have now given place, owing to the munificence of opulent and pious devotees, to wire suspension bridges with wooden planking crossing the river wherever it intersects the route. The Government has also provided such bridges at spots which charitable efforts have failed to reach. On the fourty-ninth mile the pilgrim crosses the Vyasaganga where there is an *asrama* of Vyasa in which his image is enshrined. A night's residence at this spot is ordained on the pilgrim. Before arriving at the Vyasaganga a few holy rivulets and *asramas* are passed. On the 62nd mile is the sacred spot of Devaprayag where the waters of the Bhagirathi and the Alakananda unite. When Sri Sankara bathed in the Bhagirathi, a a *Sila* or stone image was discovered by him in the bed of the holy river. He consecrated the image and enshrined it under the name of Vasudevamurthi in a temple erected on the spot, of which the Maharajah of Tehri is the present trustee. Sankara directed his disciples to keep up the worship in this temple and for some time Brahmin Sanyasis from the South officiated as the attendant priests. About 700 years ago, one Vidyasankara and his disciple Krishnabhatta were performing worship. The local ruler of the time pressed upon Vidyansankara the acceptance of an extensive tract of land round the temple for its upkeep and maintenance, which the Sanyasi declined to receive, being prohibited to accept gifts by the rules of his holy order. Much importuned by the Rajah the gift was finally made

to the disciple Krishnabhatta and in evidence thereof an inscription on a copperplate is now shown to the inquirer. After a time Brahmin Sanyasis from the south could not be procured for worship. Brahmacharyas were becoming scarce. The present *pujaris*, five in number, are Brahmins hailing from the Tinnevelly, Madura, South Malabar, Godavari and Madras Districts. The maintenance of a regular succcession of *pujaris* from the south having become more and more difficult, in order to retain their services permanently it has now become customary for the Brahmins of the hilly parts to give in marriage to the southern Brahmin *pujari* a girl from one of their own families. The dowry given on the occasion is novel. Each of these Brahmin families possesses a pilgrim jurisdiction which embraces the whole of Aryavarta except the southern parts from which pilgrims are scarce. A portion of this heritage is given as dowry to the girl, and her descendants begotten by her Brahmin spouse officiate as the Pandas or guides of the pilgrims in their journey to the holy spots. Of such Pandas there are now about 500 families. The Brahmin *pujari* from the south having wedded a hill woman has no further responsibility. He does not maintain his children who take their mother's property and who do not even perform *Sraddhas* to their southern fathers. It needs hardly be said that the present *pujaris*, like their *confreres* in the south, are a set of illiterate quidnuncs. They are mostly recruited from Benares which is the asylum[8] of all mendicants and homeless vagabonds straying from the south and also from the never-ending stream of pilgrims to the Himalayas. After selecting a man he is kept on probation for four or five months in order to test his willingness to be a permanent resident on the hills. When he has passed this probationary period successfully he is wedded to a hill maiden and allowed to take part in the worship. It is sad to relate that marriage, but not the worship, seems to be the *summum bonum* of the southern *pujari's* ambition. The probationary test is sometimes inadequate, for I was informed that two men from the south deserted their consorts lately and departed secretly from the hills.

At Devaprayag the performance of *Sraddhas* and a residence of three nights are enjoined. From here the Bhagirathi takes the

8. I do not mean to cast any reflection on the sacred Kasi. To the spiritually inclined it will always be the source of *Gnana* as it has been in the days of our Acharyas and is now the centre of activity for persons like Mrs. Besant. In every place of pilgrimage vagabonds gather by hundreds, and Kasi is no exception.

pilgrim along its bank to its source Gangothri. The distance to Gangothri is about a hundred miles, and the path is difficult and unfrequented.

Pursuing the route to Badirikasrama on the right bank of Alakananda and twenty miles from this spot is the town of Srinagar where the pilgrims should reside for one night. Twenty miles from Srinagar is Rudraprayag which is the confluence of the Mandakini and the Alakananda. From Rudraprayag traversing a distance of 49 miles along the bank of the Mandakini the pilgrim wends his weary way to Kedar. The Mandakini, according to sacred tradition, takes its rise from the coiled tresses of Mahadeva at Kedar. The Alakananda has for its source Manasarovar in Tibet, and passing through a cleft in the lofty range of hills, flows by Badirinatha's shrine washing, as it were, the holy feet of Narayana.

On the 24th mile from Rudraprayag on the route to Kedar is a place known as Guptakasi on the left bank of the Mandakini. On the opposite bank of the river is Ukhimutt where is a shrine dedicated to the worship of the goddess Usha founded according to tradition by Sri Sankaracharya. It is said that the Emperor Mandhata performed *tapas* at this place. It now forms the winter head-quarters of the *Rawal* (head *pûjari* or the religious head) and his disciples who are in charge of the worship at Kedarnath. At this spot also worship was being conducted by Brahmin Sanyasis from the south according to the injunctious of Sri Sankara. About three hundred years ago the succession of such priests became extinct and a Lingayat ascetic arriving at the time inaugurated a new line of priests who are recruited from the Saiva Vellalas of the south. These men undergo the *Abhisheka* and *Diksha* according to the doctrine of Lingayets and wear the Sivalinga round their necks. In addition they also don the sacred Brahminical thread and are then permitted to partake in the worship of Kedarinath and its attached temples.9 These men, to ensure their permanent residence on the hills, are given as consorts girls from the lower castes of the hill tribes but not in marriage. The *Rawal*, it may be mentioned, is a magistrate of the third class. The present aged Rawal has made himself acquainted with the Siva Puranas and other lore and is better equipped for his office than his brethren in these parts.

9. The attached temples are 1. Ukhimutt, 2. Guptokasi, 3. Madhyamesvara, 4. Gopunath.

The *mutt* has an annual endowment of about Rs. 10000, and the Rawal has by careful and judicious management accumulated considerable savings. The temples and the worship therein are maintained satisfactorily. It is said that a large library of sacred works was once maintained in the *mutt* and was destroyed along with the *mutt* in a huge convulsion of nature three centuries ago. At present only three or four manuscript copies of the *Kedarakanda* are available. From this spot which is at an elevation of 6033 feet are visible the towering peaks of the Himalayas capped in snow. In winter it is covered by three or four feet of snow.

Nineteen miles from here is Gowrikund which is directly at the foot of the peak on which Kedara is situated. The kund is a hot spring agreeable for a bath in the pinching cold at an elevation of 7000 or 8000 feet. From Gowrikunda you reach Kedarinath by an extremely difficult ascent of seven miles of way which precipitately rises to a height of about 4000 feet. The last portion of this journey is performed upon a flat plateau upon which the snow lies deep. The pilgrim crosses from the left bank to the right and reaches the holiest of all the spots, the abode of Kedarinath from whose locks the Mandakini flows. The place itself is like a turreted castle, the silvery heights of the Himalayas encircling it. This was the final earthly goal of the Pandavas in their *mahaprasthana* pilgrimage, and it is recorded that Indra took Yudishtira by the hand and escorted him to his heavenly abode. The cave where they disappeared is shown to the pilgrim. Above this is the sacred mountain of Kailas. To the eye of the pilgrim a lofty barrier of snow is presented which offers no foothold to the climber, and no one has ever attempted the further ascent. Kedar is, as has been already said, at a height of about 12000 feet. The cold is indescribable and a *Thrirathravasam* or three nights' residence is imposed upon all pilgrims.

The temple of Kedarinath used to be frequently washed away by the heavy fall of snow. About eighty years ago builders from Delhi were secured and a small temple consisting of a *Garbhagriha* and *Mani Mantapa* was built at a cost of three lakhs of rupees owing to the difficulty of procuring labour and materials. In the *Garbhagriha* Kedarinath is represented by the hind parts of a Mahisha. The head and the forepart of the trunk are said to appear in the shrine of Pasupatinath in the country of Nepal. The legend runs that

Mahadeva manifested Himself in the Mahisha form to Bhimasena, that Bhimasena gave chase and caught it by the tail and that Mahadeva butted himself into the ground leaving the hindmost part at Kedara. For contemplation and spiritual enlightenment this retreat is peculiarly fitted, being far removed from the trouble and turmoil of a strenuous life of exertion and also as being proximate to Kailasa, the abode of the gods—which is described as the head of Virat Purusha and Kedara as the forehead or *Lalata Sthana*.10

The pilgrim retraces his steps from Kedarnath and descends to Ukhimutt. From here he takes a cross cut over the Tanganath, a peak of the eminence of 10,000 feet—of which the ascent and descent are the most arduous parts in the course of this pilgrimage. Tunganath is the source of Akasaganga on the west and Vytharani on the east. There is a neglected temple on the Tunganath. On the route is Gopanath on the banks of the Vytharani. A Brahmin hailing from the District of South Arcot was its last Rawal, but on account of the poverty of the temple he resigned his office and it is now an adjunct of the Kedarnath temple the head of which deputes one of his disciples to perform *puja*. The present *Pujari* hails from Madura. From here Chamoli which is on the forty-fifth mile on the road to Badrinath is reached. The distance of thirty-four miles from Rudraprayag to Chamoli has to be traversed by the pilgrim on his return journey. From Chamoli the pilgrim crosses the Garudaganga and the Pathalaganga and reaches Jyothirmutt now called Joshimutt which is eighteen miles from Badarinath. The road is full of ascents and descents and taxes the endurance and the vitality of the strongest pilgrim. The top of the peak is inaccessible being snow-clad. Sri Sankaracharya established a *mutt* about half way. The present Jyothirmutt is situated a little below the older *mutt* and is at a height of 1000 feet above the confluence of the Alaknanda and the Vishnuganga called Vishnuprayag. The Jyothirmutt is now the winter abode of the *Rawal* who officiates at Badarinath. At Jyothirmutt Sri Sankara inaugurated the worship of Narasimha in the form of *Salagramas*. The *Pujaris* have dispoiled the collection of the greater and more valuable specimens. At present there are only two or three which will stand an orthodox text, and a library consisting of many valuable and rare manuscripts

10. Suta Samhita, IV.

has now disappeared owing to ignorance and neglect. On the seventh mile from here to Badrinath is Pandaveswaram where King Pandu is said to have begotten the Panchapandavas. The Pandavas performed *tapas* and obtained the Akshayabhanda well known to the readers of the Mahabharata. It is symbolically represented by a small pit within the precincts of the temple where the snow does not coagulate but melts unlike in the other spots in the vicinity. The *pujari* here is a southern Brahmin and the temple is in a neglected and ruined condition. The rest of the route of eleven miles has to be traversed by the pilgrim. For seven miles of the route there are ascents and descents which tax the pilgrim's power of endurance, and the last four miles is the most formidable part, being a precipitous peak which is intersected by ice-cold streams and which has to be crossed with much difficulty. Then the plateau of Badrinath is reached which is the consummation of all a man's earthly ambition. On the left bank of the Alkananda is situated the temple of Sri Badrinath, on an extensive plateau of much larger dimensions than the turreted castle of Kedarnath. There is also a Tapthagunda about ten feet below the level of the temple containing boiling water traditionally said to have been vouchsafed to Sankaracharya who, distressed by the sufferings of his disciples, prayed to the Almighty for a warmer place of absolution than the penetratingly cold stream of the Alkananda. I would not recommend a lengthened plunge into this hot spring as it brings on bodily discomforts by the extreme change of temperature.

The temple of Sri Badrinath was also periodically subject to the influence of the heavy snow-fall characteristic of this lofty range. A century ago a substantial structure was erected by the *mutt* authorities which promises to withstand the inclemency of even the Himalayan climate. In the *Garbhagriha* to which is attached the *Manimuntapa* as in Kedara the central figure is the image of Narayana sitting in *Yogasana* posture. On the left side is the *moorthi* (Image) of Naranarayana. In front the image Narada is placed in the act performing *tapas* and on the right is Kubera the Dikpala or the ruler of the northern regions. The image of Narayana was established by Sri Sankara, tradition says, having been manifested to him when he was bathing in the sacred waters of the Alaknanda. Sri Sankara ordained that only a scion of his own race, a Nambudri Brahmin, should officiate as *Archaka* in this temple while in other places his

disciples were considered competent to be the priests. Sri Sankara must have esteemed the Asrama of Narayana as being the most sacred of all the sacred shrines on the Himalayan range. It is optional, according to the Puranas, to cook the *pindas* to be offered to the manes either at the Brahmakalpa itself which is about two furlongs from the left side of the temple or to have them cooked by the temple priests and take *pindas* after making offerings to the presiding God to the Brahmakapala. The latter method is now very generally adopted on account of greater convenience. The temple is always open, and the pilgrims, after their difficult and arduous journey, become *Paravasas* or extatic and are wrapt in religious fervour. There are not less than five hundred worshippers every day and in favourable seasons the total number of pilgrims may be computed at fifty or sixty thousand. The annual income is about a lakh of rupees derived mainly from the contributions of the pious pilgrims who resort to the sacred spot. The Alkananda emerges from a cleft in the snow barrier which is at a distance of a mile or a mile and a half from Badrinath shrine, and if a pilgrim is venturesome enough to travel along its banks he passes into the Kimpurusha Khanda or Tibetan ceuntry where at a distance of 120 miles is the sacred lake of Manasasarovar, the source of all the sacred rivers of India. This natural barrier forms the extreme northern limit of Aryavarta and further on is the land of Kimpurusha Khanda. In my recent tour I found that safety of life could not be guaranteed even to men inclined on a religious pilgrimage by reason of the hostilities in the north.

Returning to Chamoli forty-five miles from Badrinath the pilgrim passes on the seventh mile from Chamoli to Nandaprayag where he is directed to stay for one night and on the twentieth mile is Karnaprayag from where the pilgrim passes on to the Nainital road. On this road is the sacred spot known as Adi Badri about thirteen miles from Karnaprayaga. From here the pilgrim passing along the Ramaganga descends gently to the slopes of the Kausiki river and reaches Bhinetal, a fine sanitarium with a mild climate, and on the seventh mile to Khatgodam the Railway station. The route from Mailchouri to Khatgodam—about seventy-five miles in distance—is on a higher level, about four or five thousand feet above the mean sea level. The well-known sanitaria of Almora and Radikhet are visible from this route. The pilgrim is enchanted with

the wild and magnificient scenery of the deva daru clad mountains over which he passes.

The priests of Jyothirmutt which is their winter headquarters have to keep open the worship at Badrinath for four or five months in the year. According to the ordinances of Sri Sankara the *Rawal* or the head priest must be a Brahmin Sanyasi from Malabar belonging to a Nambudri family. Sanyasins having become rare, only ordinary Brahmins are now available. Government also has recognised that only Nambudris should perform worship at Badrinath. I saw personally several letters from high officials like the Commissioner of the province addressed to the present head of the Ukhimutt deploring the decay of religious fervour in the southern Brahmins and their indifferenee to the directions of their Acharya in not keeping up a regular succession of priests. The Tehri Rajah is the secular custodian of the Badrinath temple which has an income of about a lakh of rupees every year. The servants of the temple excepting the *Rawal* and the *pujaris* are recruited from the hill tribes. There is no fellow feeling or sympathy between them. It is regrettable that in the greatest place of worship sanctified by the Rishis and extolled in the puranas illiterate vagabonds under the colour of their southern nationality are allowed to officiate as priests. In their religious fervour pious pilgrims hailing from all parts of India make no distinction between God and His priests, and the *Rawal* is worshipped by them as their spiritual Guru equally with God. The following of the *Rawal* consists of seven or eight persons, mostly men of ill repute and ignorant. They are allowed to perform worship in the minor temples attached to Badrinath. Recently the head *Rawal* was deposed by Government owing to his complicity in a criminal case and was also deprived of his powers as a third class magistrate. In the Ukhimutt the priests are all Saiva Sudras who don the Brahminical thread. It is manifestly opposed to the injunctions of Sri Sankara that persons other than Brahmin Sanyasis from the south should perform worship at Kedarnath. Unhappily two or three Brahmins who came in recent times owing to the influence of their surroundings accepted the supremacy of the Lingayats and conformed to their method of worship. Now facilities for travel have increased abundantly. People leaving their homes on a long pilgrimage are not given up for lost as in ancient days. All this has now changed and it is now

the duty of the southern districts of India to keep up the worship in the sacred Himalayan shrines in consonance with the ordinances of their great teacher Sri Sankara by supplying a regular line of priests to officiate at these temples.

The management of the extensive properties of Sri Badrinath is now carried on under the control of the *Rawal* with the help of the indigenous natives of the hilly tracts. The want of sympathy between master and servant, the incompetency of the *Rawal* and his want of knowledge in religious and spiritual matters reflect upon the administration of the endowment. The present *Rawal* was a satellite of the deposed man. His elevation to a position of trust and responsibility was too abrupt. If Nambudris are properly instructed and trained for the purpose and deputed regularly to keep up the succession of the priests and after a period of probation are installed in the responsible office of *Rawal*, only then can a better state of things be expected. The Travancore Government is most fitted for this task as there is a large number of Nambudri *Illoms* in that State. The head of the administration Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao is an ardent devotee of Sri Sankara and has obtained spiritual instruction from his apostle descendant at Sringeri. I invoke his earnest attention, and trust that he will endeavour to establish and maintain a regular line of priests of Sri Sankara's own nationality for the performance of worship at Badrinath, the northern and most sacred of all the *mattams* founded by that great and renowned teacher.

The Dakshiva Acharyas who have commented upon the Vedanta Sutras, the Gita and the Upanishads, are supposed by tradition to shed their beneficial influence even now, on this sacred spot, where they exist in spirit, if not in body, and surely will they bless those who exert themselves to revive worship in the holy shrines in the approved Vedic forms by a properly instructed and competent priesthood.

As regards the management of the temple properties which is now going a begging and which was offered by the present *Rawal* to even such an insignificant person as myself, it should be undertaken by experienced and retired Government officials who now wish to pass their days in the service of God. A fitter place of retirement than the Himalayas is not in existence for persons who seek to spend the closing period of their life in the service of their Creator.

R. ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRI.

A CHAPTER FROM AN OBSCURE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

I was born in Chingleput, thirty-five miles south-west of Madras. Chingleput is a town of some historical importance having played its part in the struggle for supremacy between the English and the French in the eighteenth century. Even before that period, Hindu chiefs lived here holding their courts in a strongly fortified fort, which, of course, is in ruins now. It was here that one of the chiefs gave permission to the English to erect Fort St. George which was afterwards confirmed by the then Suzerain power established at Chandragiri; Srirunga Raya, of the Vyjianagar dynasty, ruling at Chandragiri, confirmed the grant of land to the East India Company on the 31st of March, 1639. The fort at Chingleput and the buildings inside show that the place must have been of some importance in those days. This fort, in point of strength, was ranked next to Ginjee, which Orme, the first English historian of India, calls "the modern Troy" and Chingleput has not been without reason called "another modern Troy." The position of the town, which is the capital of the district bearing that name, is also interesting. It is here that the two chief languages of the Dravidian stock, namely, Tamil and Telugu, meet. The country north of Chingleput is peopled mostly by those speaking Telugu and the country south of it by the Tamilians. Southern India in ancient times was divided into four kingdoms, namely, those of the Chera (Travancore, Cochin, Malabar, Coimbatore and Salem), the Pandya (Tinnevelly and Madura), the Chola (Trichinopoly and Tanjore &c.,) and the Tondamandala. The boundaries of the last have been given by ancient Tamil poets as extending for about one hundred miles north to south along the coast of the Bay of Bengal, that is, for fifty miles to the north of Chingleput and for fifty miles to the south of it; and practically for about forty miles from east to west between Conjeveram and Mahabalipuram. Conjeveram was the capital of the ancient Tondamandala kingdom. It is considered to be one of the most, if not the most, sacred place in Southern India. It is one of the seven great ancient cities of India and that great religious thinker Desigar, whose image is the apple of discord in South Indian temples dedicated to Vishnu calls it "the salvation giving Conjeveram." Conjeveram is the place *par excellence* of Hindu temples, religious institutions and religious thought and the place that "still shines, as tradition tells she shone, through the mists of antiquity

in the pre-Brahminical days of Buddhists and Jains." Mahabalipuram, the great city of Bali—called the Seven Pagodas by Englishmen and rendered famous in English literature by Southey's "Curse of Kehama" was the ancient seaport of Tondamandala, where, in the vivid words of an English writer who visited it, "works of imagery and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers,"—those "works of imagery and sculpture," being twenty centuries old. Between these two ancient places, exactly midway, stands Chingleput on the banks of the Palar. Chingleput is, therefore, "the Heart of Tondamandala." It was in Tondamandala that the great philosopher and religious reformer Ramanuja was born—Ramanuja, the accredited representative of the most popular of the three systems of Hindu philosophy in Southern India. What Martin Luther was to Christendom, that Ramanuja was to Hinduism a few centuries earlier. He made his religion broad-based and all embracing. He fought very, hard against great odds for attaining the results he achieved and his image is worshipped to-day in South Indian temples by his followers who number thousands upon thousands in the Madras Presidency alone. Pughezendi, the greatest master of the *Venba* metre in Tamil poetry was a native of Tondamandala, while Tiruvalluvar, the one Tamil poet who fascinates Europe at the present day and who unlike others of his country, preached that life in this world is a sacred boon and a blessing and is worth living, and his sister Avvai, not inaptly called the Indian Sappho and four out of the twelve Vishnava saints were natives of Tondamandala. The great Chinese traveller Hioen Thsang who visited it about 640 A. D. wrote thus regarding it:—"The climate is hot and the inhabitants are brave; they are remarkable for their strong love of faithfulness and justice and have great esteem for learned men." Southern India is the most Indian part of India. It is there, as that thoughtless, but gifted writer Rudyard Kipling says, that "a great part of the poetry of dead India lies." And Tondamandala is an epitome of Southern India, where according to a Sanskrit poet is found all that is best and lovely in the other kingdoms with none of their evils. Ancient poets have sung of Tondamandala as the home of the wise and the just. It is the land of the brave and the faithful as well. No wonder therefore

that the people of this part of Southern India who fought under Smith, Eyre Coote and Clive, the three great Englishmen who laid the foundations of the greatest Empire of modern times served them faithfully.

Places and towns there are which have rightly or wrongly acquired an unenviable notoriety. Kumbhakonam, a large town in Southern India, has come to be synonymous with duplicity and this view has extended so far that it has found a place in the dictionary. The natives of Gaya in the north on the affluence of the Ganges and the Jumna are known to be so pestering and troublesome that the appellation *Gayavali* is given in Southern India to a troublesome man. This reminds me of another town, Florence which has been set down in an unfortunate light—for Florance the birthplace of Dante, the greatest of modern poets has failed to bring back the remains of the author of the *Divina Commendia* to deposit them in the place of his birth and alluding to this Byron exclaimed,—"Ungrateful Florence! Dante lies afar." But nought is set to the discredit of Chingleput. On the other hand, it was here that the first business towards the making of the British Empire was enacted by the permission granted in 1639 by its chiefs to Mr. Francis Day of the East India Company to build Fort St. George. When this fact was brought to the notice of Lord Ampthill by the residents of this town, when he visited it during his first tour, in 1901, he made the following graceful allusion to it in his reply:—"It is with peculiar interest that I set foot in Chingleput, not only on account of the historical interest which centres round it, but also because it is the first place which I am visiting in this my first tour. I do not think there is any other place where I could have more appropriately begun my visitation of the Presidency, seeing, as you say, that it was in Chingleput that the British authority emanated."

It is, therefore, with immense pride and feeling of thankfulness to the Author of all good that I chronicle the fact of my having been born in Chingleput, "the Heart Tondamandala." I still retain the fondest memories of my childhood in Chingleput, every nook and corner of which I am familiar with. I am conversant with the history and traditions of the places and the peculiarities of the scenes surrounding it. In fact the opening lines of my first venture in verse after I left College describe the striking scenery of the place. The typical village which I took to describe in my "Life in an

Indian Village" is situated near Chingleput, and the characters therein drawn are no imaginary personages but have all been taken from life. And into my romance of 'Padmini' was woven the story of the first settlement of the English in Fort. St. George; and with that settlement, as we have seen, is closely associated Chingleput, where the curtain rose on the opening scene of that great drama of the world—the British supremacy of India.

But why should I write in this foolish strain, proud of my birthplace? All this is earth earthy. All places, all towns are one in the eyes of God's creatures. At this moment, the lines of an ancient Tamil poet, who lived a thousand years ago, and whose verse is embodied in that well-known work of *Purananuru* come to my mind. They are as follow, as translated by that Great Tamil scholar, Dr. Pope of Oxford.

"To us all towns are one, all men our kin.
Life's good comes not from others' gift, nor ill;
Man's pains and pain's reliefs are from within.
Death's no new thing; nor do our bosoms thrill
When joyous life seems like a lusious draught.
When grieved we patient suffer; for we deem
This much-prized life of ours a fragile raft,
Borne down the waters of some mountain stream
That over huge boulders roaring seeks the plain.
Though storms with lightning's flash from darkened skies
Descend, the raft goes on as fates ordain.
Thus have we seen in visions of the wise.
We marvel not at greatness of the great,
Still less despise we men of low estate."

And do not these pages relate to one of "low estate"?

T. RAMAKRISHNA.

A PAGE FROM THE HISTORY OF COCHIN.

BY the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese Empire had begun to wane after having attained its zenith some time before. Another power from the West had begun to try conclusions with Portugal for empire in the East. Casting off the shakles forged for them by the tyranny of Philip II of Spain, and conscious of the independence secured in the face of great odds, the undaunted Hollander had set his persevering energy on the acquisition of commercial supremacy in the East, and if possible, of an Oriental empire. The Portuguese policy of conquest, conversion and commerce had its halcyon days. Elements of deterioration and decay had begun to eat into the vitals of the Portuguese empire in the East. The sudden acquisition of ill-gotten wealth and the easy subjugation of vast tracts had turned the head of the Portuguese officials. The race of heroes such as the Abuquerques and Pachecos had given place to a base set of captains and administrators whose only thought was money. Avarice and debased luxury had enervated a nation that had hitherto produced heroes and statesmen. Goa, their capital in India, came to be known as *Goa Dourado* or Golden Goa, a place of fabulous wealth. The interior life of Goa represented, as Dr. W. W. Hunter observes, on a more magnificent scale, the social types and standards of the Portuguese settlements in India. The discription of that life shows to what low state the Portuguese had fallen by the commencement of the sixteenth century.

"The intensely military spirit, and its contempt for peaceful industry, ended in a reaction of profligacy and sloth. Portuguese society in Goa divided itself into two idle populations—an idle population of men in the streets and gaming saloons, and an idle population of women in the seclusion of their own homes. The gambling houses, sumptuously furnished and paying a heavy licence-tax to the Government, were the resort of dancing girls, jugglers, native actors and buffoons—haunts of iniquity, in which the more determined players stayed sometimes for days together and were provided with board and lodging. The ladies of Goa soon obtained an equally unenviable name. Shut up as much as possible from male society, they lounged half-dressed through the tropical day, singing, playing, quarrelling, gossiping with their flattering slaves, and especially devising means to elude the vigilance of their husbands.

A European *zenana* life grew up and produced ugly consequences. A lady valued herself in her female coterie upon the number and daring of her intrigues. The travellers who visited Goa during its palmy days tell strange tales of the hardihood with which the Portuguese matrons pursued their amour—not scrupling to stupefy the husband with drugs, and then admitting the paramour to his chamber. The perils of such interviews gave zest to jaded appetite, and the Goanese became a byword as the type of an orientalised community, idle, haughty and corrupt."

"But the Portuguese of Goa, although clad much like natives in their own houses save for the large rosaries round their necks and with their children running 'up and down the house naked till they begin to be old enough to be ashamed,' made a splendid appearance when they stirred abroad. The ladies in gorgeous apparel were carried in not less gorgeous litters, guarded by domestics, to the great functions of the church—their 'dress mostly of gold and silver brocade adorned with pearls, precious stones, and with jewels on the head, arms, hands and round the waist; and they put on a veil of the finest crape in the world which extends from head to foot They wore no stockings, but slippers studded with gems and raised on cork soles 'nearly half a foot in height.' 'They do not wear any mask but paint their cheeks to a shameful degree.' These ladies, when they enter the church, are taken by the hand by one or two men, since they cannot walk by themselves on account of the height of the slippers.' Each is thus helped 'to her seat some forty or fifty paces off, taking at least a good quarter of an hour to walk that distance, so slowly and majestically does she move'—after the fashion of the highborn Venetian ladies of that time"

"When a gentleman rode forth he was attended by a throng of slaves in gay and fanciful liveries, some holding painted umbrellas, others displaying richly inlaid arms; while his horse glittered with gold and silver trappings, jingling silver bells, reins studded with precious stones, and gilt stirrups wrought into artistic patterns. The poor aped the rich and resorted to amusing makeshifts to exhibit an air of grandeur. Gentlemen who lived together had a few silk suits between them in common. These they used by turns when they went out, and hired the services of a man to hold an umbrella over them as they strutted through the streets."[1]

1. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 156 *et seq.*

The system of private trade often encouraged at home gradually proved a source of political weakness. As early as 1524 complaints arose that the captains 'do not want war, as it is too expensive and bad to endure, and of small gain and little advantage.' In 1524 a new Governor found the Royal Service in great straits owing to the number of officers who had left it to turn merchants—a business which offered greater chances of profit and less danger to life and limb. After three years' experience he was anxious to resign 'as he saw around him only corruption and dishonesty.' In 1549 a confidential report thus summed up the position, 'Each one considers only himself!' 2

The Government at home found itself unable to keep their lieutenants abroad in check and after the union of Portugal with the Spanish Crown in 1580 the revolt of the Netherlands had crippled the resources available for the Indian commerce and Government. The pay of the officers in India had to be curtailed, and even this reduced pay came to fall into arrears. They therefore justified their rapacity on the ground of insufficient salaries and began openly to conduct expeditions on their own behalf.

"If the system produced bitter fruits in Asia, it had its roots in Portugal herself. Not only could the Lisbon Court never screw up its courage to give fair commercial salaries for fair commercial work, but it used India as a refuge for depraved or destitute hangers-on upon its bounty. As the slave-tillage of Portugal concentrated large tracts among a small body of great proprietors, the lesser nobility and gentry sank into indigence. Their blood disdained the degradation of trade at home, and the antechambers of the grandees were besieged by poor relations clamouring for employment or bread. India seemed to offer, if not a fortune, at any rate a grave. In either case the suitor was got rid of. It became the asylum for those who had claims that could not be satisfied, or who had rendered services that could not be acknowledged, or had received promises that could not be fulfilled. Young women were shipped off from Lisbon with the dowry of an appointment in India for the man who would marry them. One favoured damsel carried in her trunk the Governorship of Cranganore. The multiplication of offices was pushed to an extent which would have been ludicrous, if it had not proved fatal, in Portuguese India. But even nominal

2. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 178.

posts could not be invented to keep pace with the demand. Each of the four outward ships of a single year brought sixty persons more or less without pay."[3]

So early as 1549, *i. e.*, barely half a century since the Portuguese occupation of Cochin, a letter of Cosma Annes to the King of Portugal dated the 30th of December observed that things were going "from bad to worse" at Cochin. Again in a letter addressed to the King by the Judge and alderman of Goa dated the 25th of November 1552 they bewail, "In India there is no Justice, either in your Viceroy, or in those who are to mete it out." Their one object is "the gathering together of money by every means. There is no Moor who will trust a Portuguese. Senhor, we beg for mercy, mercy. Help us Senhor, Help us Senhor, for we are sinking."[4]

We have in the following words a true picture of the Portuguese in Cochin. "Persons having purchased their ill-paid Government appointments, became grasping and mercenary, not probably so much for the love of money, as for the necessity of obtaining it for their expenses; for in those days, Cochin was a gay city, and the saying was, China was a good place to make money in, and Cochin to spend it at.' The style of living and the pay were consequently incompatible, and helping themselves was a necessity. The whole nation was groaning under priestly dominion, a dominion which set the Bishop's mitre before the King's crown and the Church before the State, and woe to that Governor, who should dare to disobey the mandate of a priest. These people who aimed at an empire in India both spiritual and temporal, at wholesale conversions effected by conviction, bribery, fraud or violence, who considered no expenditure too large to effect their object, whose self-love had alienated all friends, and injustice created many enemies were now on the eve of resigning their authority to others. Another power was now to become predominant in the East, another race was to try their hand at supremacy and another religion to be introduced. The Portuguese had become objects of aversion to their old allies, the Princes of Cochin, as they had deposed the Raja, and created his Aunt, the Ranee."[5]

3. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 193.
4. Ibid, p. 185.
5. Day's Land of the Perumals, pp. 114—115.

Some time before, disputes had arisen regarding the succession to the Cochin throne. There had been some conflicting adoptions into the family from collateral branches. At first the adoptions were made from the *Mootha Tavazhi* branch and the *Palliviruthi* branch. The adoptees quarrelled among themselves and two factions arose in the country headed by the rival adoptees. The Portuguese espoused the cause of the *Palliviruthi* branch and expelled the *Mootha Tavazhi* Princes from the kingdom. Soon after, all the *Palliviruthi* Princes died and a further adoption was made from *Chazhiyoor* and *Ayroor*. As if this was not sufficient to distract the country a further adoption was effected from the *Betat* or *Tanoor* family on the ground that Betatnad had on a former occasion rendered material help to the Cochin Royal family and that the Princes of that house were at the time very powerful on the Coast. The reigning Raja died and the Portuguese at once set up the *Betat* Prince on the throne with the support of a Travancore Prince called by the Portuguese *Ramana Koil*. The exiled Prince of the *Mootha Tavazhi* sought the aid of the Dutch the rival European Power that had recently established itself at Colombo. Rajah Veera Kerala Varma of the *Mootha Tavazhi* proceeded in 1662 to Colombo, interviewed the Dutch Governor-General and invited him to befriend the exiled Princes of Cochin. Previous to this on the 12th March 1661 the Paliat Achen, the hereditary Prime Minister of the Cochin Raja, had on his own behalf met the Dutch admiral Van Goens on board the ship *Muscatboom* "in a friendly manner and entered into an agreement, the purport of which was, that as the Portuguese and other enemies had deprived him of his lands, he would place himself entirely under the protection of the Dutch who were to restore him by force to his territories, whilst he was to obey them in all things."[6] The Governor-General was glad to find an opportunity of securing a desirable location on the Malabar Coast. He acceded to the proposal of Veera Kerala Varma and promised to restore him to his inheritance.

The Dutch were about this time planning the conquest of the Malabar Coast. Not liking the interference of the Moghul Emperor with their trade establishments at Surat and other places, they were on the look-out for a settlement on the Malabar Coast where they could lord it over the feeble native powers and carry on unhampered

6. Moen's Memorial. Dutch Government Records, Day, p. 115.

a lucrative trade in spices and other articles. Cochin appeared to be vulnerable and offered a suitable site satisfactory in all respects and affording immunity from the rapacious exactions of the Mahomedan Government as from any opposition on the part of their European rivals in trade, the English, who had already begun to compete for the eastern trade.

The plan of operations proposed by the fugitive Prince of Cochin was for the Dutch Admiral Ryklof Van Goens to attack Cochin from the sea and effect a landing on the western side while the Rajas of Vadakankoor and Thekenkoor were to advance on the town from the north and the south from the land side. Accordingly the Dutch fleet under Van Goens appeared before Paliport and captured the Portuguese fort there. The native allies from the land side, failed, however, to put in their appearance and the Dutch fleet sailed back to Colombo. But they soon returned to the attack. Sailing from Colombo Admiral Van Goens appeared with a fleet before Quilon, in the beginning of December 1661, and recovered that place from the hands of the Portuguese who had re-captured it from the Dutch in the absence of the Admiral. Thence the Dutch troops proceeded to Cranganore, towards the end of December 1661, and landed a large army at Aycotta. Having effected a landing they proceeded to lay siege to the strong Portuguese fort at Crangnore. It was bravely defended by the Portuguese Commander Urbano Fialho Firiera, a man of great courage and valour. The Princes of Chazhyoor and other adherents and nobles of Raja Godavarma of Cochin supplied vessels for the defence of the fort on the sea side where the Paliat Achen, minister of Cochin, and his following stood guard at a quarter which was reckoned weak. The Dutch effected a landing here. The Governor of Cochin had great confidence in the courage and capacity of the Commander of Cranganore and continued supplying him with ammunition and other materials for standing an assault. The attack lasted for many days continuously and the Dutch finding it a difficult task raised the white flag and despatched an emissary to arrange for peace. But Fialho Fereira replied with contempt that he would supply the Dutch with ladders to scale the walls if they dared. The Dutch emissary returned and the attack was resumed. Paliam who had more than once before proved faithless to the Portuguese again played the old trick. He slipped out of the fort unobserved and joined the Dutch whose Commander was taken to his place at Chennamangalam, where it was agreed

that the Dutch should restore the *Mootha Tavazhi* Prince to the throne of Cochin. He then disclosed to the Dutch the weak quarter of the fort. On the 15th January, 1622, the final engagement took place. It was a fierce one, and the Commander Urbano Fialho Fereira was cut down after exhibiting prodigies of valour. The fortress was then surrendered to the Dutch who at once took possession of it and sent all the Portuguese soldiers to Europe.

Seven days after the fall of Cranganore the Dutch fleet approached Cochin by way of Vypeen and crept along the coast till they came opposite to the fort. On the Island of Vypeen towards its southern end they found a church and a large house belonging to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cochin which were at once seized and made the headquarters of the Dutch admiral. He then constructed a strong post close by and called it Fort Orange. Leaving a garrison of 800 men to guard this post, Van Goens re-embarked with the rest of his men to attack Cochin from the south.

At this juncture the Paliat Achen invited the Bishop of Cochin to proceed to his place at Chennamangalam guaranteeing the Bishop's safety there. The Bishop found it difficult to comply with this request, whereupon the Achen sought for a personal interview intimating that he had very important communications to make. The Bishop requested the Governor of Cochin, Ignatio Sarmento to depute some one to be present at the interview. It was thought that if measures were adopted at once to bring about an understanding between the Malabar Princes and the Portuguese to instal the *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja on the Cochin throne on the demise of the then reigning Tanur (Betat) Raja the hands of the Portuguese would be strengthened and the imminent fall of the Cochin fort could be averted. Unfortunately for the Portuguese there was no time to bring about this arrangement. The *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja had already met the Dutch General on board his vessel and offered his services. He spoke Portuguese remarkably well; showed considerable acquaintance with military affairs, and made arrangements to supply the Dutch with fresh provisions from the neighbouring villages.

The Dutch now began to press forward. On landing the Dutch Commander had informed the Nairs that he had not come to fight with them or their legitimate sovereign but that his only desire was to fight with the Portuguese. The Nair adherents of the

Betat Princes, however, disputed the advance of the Dutch and a dash on the Palace at Mattanchery was at once made. A battle was fought in front of the Palace. The Nairs fought with desperation and made a furious onset hacking the Dutch right and left with their long swords which they held with both hands; many of the Dutch were beaten down. But there was no method in their fighting and they were no match for the disciplined array of European soldiers that confronted them. Three of the Betat Princes were cut down gallantly fighting. The brave Dutch, in spite of the furious Nair onset soon rallied and found no difficulty in driving back their enemies within the Palace walls where a fearful struggle took place resulting in the death of four hundred Nairs.[7] A Dutch Ensign named Henry Adrian Van Rheede, (perhaps the same with Hendrick Van Rheede, afterwards Governor of Cochin from 1673 to 1677, to whose enlightenment and learning we owe a debt of gratitude past recompense for the publication of that great and ever enduring work the *Hortus Malabaricus*) boldly entered the Palace and secured the person of the Ranee Gungadhara maha Lakshmi, who is described as "an old woman, very plain in appearance but covered with gold ornaments and jewels." For this act of bravery the General at once promoted Van Rheede to a Captaincy. Her nephew the Raja who had accompanied the Dutch as their ally interceded in her behalf on which account she was treated with great kindness and consideration by the Dutch Commander. Tavernier observes that after six days the Queen was given into the custody of the Zamorin who was the most powerful of the petty kings of the Coast to whom the Dutch had promised that if they took the town of Cochin they would give him that of Cranganore provided that he was faithful to them. This engagement took place in February 1662. Of the Ranee's *Kariakars* or officers, Raghavan Kovil escaped with his wounds. Two Namboories of Muriathitta *Illam* were carried to the Dutch fleet in chains.

Of the Betat faction Goda Varma escaped to Ernakulam—on the other side of the backwater and the Dutch proposed to pursue and attack him there. The Raja of Poracad, a staunch ally of the Portuguese and an ardent adherent of the Betat Princes, now appeared on the scene with large reinforcements. Supplies were

7. Tavernier says that 1600 Nairs were killed in this battle. See Tavernier's Travels-Ball's Edition, Chap. 16, page 241.

thrown into Ernakulam and the place strongly entrenched. On this, the Dutch gave up the idea of pursuing the Betat Princes across the water.

The Dutch force was then divided into three companies which were placed thus: one on the sea side of the town, one on the land side, while the third was ordered to occupy a position near the river. Regular approaches were formed and batteries placed in position.

On the day following the engagement at the Mattancherry Palace, the Dutch attacked the Fort of Cochin led by a brave officer named Was who was killed almost at the point of carrying the fort by storm, whereupon the storming party retreated in confusion. The original plan of delivering the assault before sunrise was delayed, and by the time the storming party advanced, the Portuguese had discovered the scheme and were prepared to renew the attack. The old Portuguese spirit of Pacheco and Almeyda showed itself and the defenders fought bravely for weeks together, so that the besiegers were forced to give up their attempt discomfitted, although the Dutch Commanders strained every nerve to take the fort by storm.

The Bishop of Cochin, the Rev. Joseph Sebastioni felt that Cochin was about to fall into the hands of the Dutch who were no friends of the Catholic faith and concerted measures to secure his own safety. He applied for an interview with the Dutch General Van Goens who told the Bishop that if he would send his secretary matters could be arranged. The Bishop at once despatched his secretary Fr. Gothi Pedro to meet the General. Fr. Gothi was informed that the General would supply the Bishop with passports to proceed to Persia if he was willing to leave Cochin without delay, but that all final arrangements must wait till the war was over. This was no pleasant prospect for the Bishop, and he made up his mind to leave Cochin for Muttam, near Shertalay, 20 miles south of Cochin, to join his flock there, an attempt in which after some hardships he fortunately succeeded. Winter was now fast approaching and at the end of a month the besieging force had become reduced to 1400 men, while the ally of the Portuguese the Raja of Poracad, reinforced them with 6000 Nairs. About this time five ships arrived from Goa with reinforcements but the harbour was so closely guarded by the Dutch that the Portuguese found considerable difficulty in entering it. The Governor Ignatio Sarmento with the assistance of the Bishop's secretary Fr. Gothi, however, succeeded at last in eluding the vigilence of the

Dutch and brought the ships into the harbour. The men were safely landed and were received with great joy and acclamation. The Dutch stood very much in need of war materials especially fuses. The monsoon now suddenly burst forth with unusual fury, and just as those within the walls of Cochin were fearing that the fort would soon fall into the hands of the besiegers, the latter made up their minds to raise the siege and retire to Batavia.

This they effected so quietly and in so clever a manner that the Portuguese within the fort did not know that the Dutch had given them the slip till noon on the following day. All night a Dutch constable named Boerdrop had been running about bawling out at the top of his voice words of command such as "stand," "halt," who is there? &c.; a friendly Jew in the meanwhile sounded the gong till early vespers and these stratagems put the besieged off their guard.

The Portuguese were elated at their unexpected success. In the excess of their joy they thought that the Dutch had finally given up their attempts to capture Cochin. Instead of strengthening the fortifications and securing the aid of the natives they sought to wreak vengeance on the Jews who had enabled the Dutch to slip unobserved; Jews' town was plundered and an attempt was made to destroy the Synagogue but they succeeded only in carrying off the Pentateuch which was subsequently recovered in 1668. The Canarians (Konganies) who had found an asylum in the Cochin State from the religious persecution of the community at Goa had rendered some assistance to the Dutch. The wrath of the Portuguese now fell on them. Their houses were plundered, their temple pillaged and their market looted.

The sudden flight of the besiegers gave Goda Varma Raja who was roaming about the vicinity of Palluruthi a thrill of joy and he at once proceeded to Cochin surrounded by a large following. The chiefs and the nobility lost no time in flocking to his standard. He now entered the fort walls with all the pomp and glitter of an Oriental magnate and the townspeople accepted him as their sovereign with great acclamation.

On the other hand, the *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja and the Paliat Achen found their cause lost. The Dutch who had come with the avowed purpose of assisting them had sailed away leaving them to shift for themselves. In this sorry plight they had to fly for their very lives. But the Dutch had left only with the intention of

returning in greater force at the earliest opportunity. On leaving they had promised the *Mootha Tavazhi* Prince that they would return when the dreaded monsoon had passed off, and the Raja was anxiously waiting for them. Fearing that the Dutch had given up their attempts to capture the town and oust the Portuguese, the Raja, Veera Kerala Varma, proceeded once more to Colombo accompanied by one of the Chazhyoor Princes and Paliat Komi Achen. He succeeded in hastening the Dutch to return to the siege without delay but died on board the ship on his return journey and was cremated at *Anjery Matom* at Mattancherry.

On their leaving Cochin the Dutch did not withdraw or abandon the strong position they had secured on the Island of Vypeen whence they continued to harass the Cochin Fort. From Vypeen they poured shot and shell into the town committing great destruction to life and property. Bishop Sebastioni gives us a harrowing discription of the scene he witnesed in the town. He says that he had to go within the fort walls to transact some business with the Commander and thus became a participator in the sufferings of its denizens. The roof of the house in which he was living was torn away from over his head by cannon balls. The lives of the inmates were in great jeopardy. The balls weighed something like 24 lbs; two of them linked together struck the portico of his house and shattered its beams and roof. Another shot broke the front door into splinters. As the penitent prelate was one day at his prostrations in the front yard of his house, absorbed in contemplation and prayer, he was rudely awakened to the realities of life on this mundane sphere by a cannon ball falling close at his feet. But Providence had willed that the Bishop should not be hurt and he escaped.

The Portuguese were thus reminded of the probability of the Dutch returning to the attack as soon as the monsoon was over and an earnest requisition was sent to Goa for reinforcements. These reinforcements were, however, not destined to reach Cochin, for the ships that brought them were caught in a tempest near Honore and the whole fleet was lost.

The fort was not capable of sustaining a long defence. So early as 1623 Don Francisco da Gama Carde La Vidigveria who had come as Viceroy had reported that "Cochin which used to be the most prosperous settlement had then hardly any trade and was almost in

a state of ruin and without any means of defence whilst the enemy (the Dutch, English &c.) were in great force in the Indies."[8] No attempt seems, however, to have been made to improve the defence though strict orders were issued to injure the trade of the English in Cochin.

The Dutch once more appeared before Cochin on the 25th of October 1662 under a new General named Hustaart.[9] The army sent from Batavia to resume the siege landed at Palliport (Pallipuram) where the Dutch had in the previous year erected a fort with palms. From this place it marched to Vypeen within the range of the guns of Cochin. Here also, as we have found, the Dutch had in the previous year occupied a position capable of forming a base of operations against the fort on the opposite side of the river that separated Vypeen from Cochin. They entrenched themselves on the southern end of the Island, so far as the nature of the ground permitted, and placed some batteries in position; but their distance from the town made them practically of little or no use. Before long three ships arrived with reinforcements and siege materials which were soon followed by the Governor of Amboyna bringing two more ships with a further contingent. A number of Sinhalese were also brought from Ceylon. Four hundred men of the Amboyna contingent were left at Vypeen, while the bulk of the army re-embarked and landed near Cochin in the vicinity of the church of St. Andrew where the Portuguese assisted by the Raja of Cochin were waiting to receive the attack of the Dutch. The Dutch General offered terms to the Portuguese Governor of Cochin. He intimated that the Directors of the East India Company had authorised the Government of India to permit all Portuguese who might subject themselves to the Company to trade freely and to have absolute freedom of religion in as many churches as they liked to maintain. The Dutch Commander added that, if the fort was surrendered, he would undertake that the Dutch should only have one church and that their soldiers should occupy the fort. The Portuguese Commander Ignatio Sarmento refused the proferred terms. The Dutch successfully effected a landing though the Portuguese bravely resisted the attempt, their loss being but slight as the Portuguese had only aimed at the boats. The Dutch

8. Danver's Report on the Portuguese Records p. 27.
9. Fr. Bartolomeo mentions Peter Van Bitter and C. Valkenberg as the Admirals in command of the Dutch Fleet. Voyages to the East Indies, page 130.

observing a detachment of the Portuguese marching along the sea coast in the direction of the church of St. John ordered their cavalry to reconnoitre them, whereupon, the Portuguese retreating to the east, in their desperation set fire to the convent of St. John to prevent the Dutch occupying it.[8a] The flames were, however, soon extinguished and the Dutch fixed it as their headquarters. The same day ten men from each Company were ordered to proceed to capture the Mattancherry palace which had been the year before the scene of a bloody conflict between the Dutch and the Nairs of the Raja of Cochin. They found the palace deserted and had therefore to return disappointed.

The Dutch then began to entrench themselves and raised small forts made of palms, one laid upon another, behind cover of which they erected batteries and placed their guns in position. A battery with four pieces of cannon was erected near the church of St. John near the sea. Another was erected near the church of St. Thomas where was the hospital for the sick and wounded. A third was raised at Calvatti with seven pieces of cannon and two mortars whence bombs and stones were thrown into the town which caused great destruction to the buildings within the fort. At this spot there was a river which the Dutch attempted to bridge by means of sacks filled with earth so that they might cross under cover of the point of a bastion which impinged directly on the river and assault the "Pepper house" a large store surrounded by the sea. Perceiving this, the Portuguese hastened to garrison it and supplied two guns for its defence. The scheme to bridge the stream was therefore given up. Thus weeks passed without anything important taking place. Several assaults were made which were all vigorously repulsed with great loss to the Dutch. In the last of these assaults the Dutch Governor of Cranganore who commanded

8 *a.* The unrelenting spirit in which the Dutch conducted themselves is evidenced by an incident recorded by Tavernier. "A French soldier named Christofel" "who was in their (the Dutch) pay seeing a basket attached to a rope which was hanging from a bastion, went boldly to see what it had inside without fearing musket shots. But he was much surprised when he found that it was a poor famished infant which the mother had placed there in order to escape the sorrow of seeing it die of hunger;—for already some time had elapsed since the Dutch had commenced the siege of Cochin, and since any food had entered the town. The soldier smitten with compassion, took the infant and gave it of whatever he had to eat, at which the General of the army was so indignant, saying that the soldiers should have left the infant to die, that he assembled the council of war and proposed that he should be shot. This was very cruel, and the council moderating the sentence, only condemned him to the lash—"page 237.

the party was taken prisoner and the General lost no time in withdrawing the survivors from a weak position. In November Admiral Van Goens joined the besiegers with large reinforcements and military appliances and the brave Portuguese made up their minds to stand a siege. In December the Raja of Porcad brought a strong Nair contingent and entrenched himself at Ernakulam on the opposite coast and threw supplies into the fort. Thereupon the Dutch crossed over in boats, determined to attack him. The Nairs under Portuguese officers met the attack most valiantly and a bloody encounter took place at the landing place. The Porcad troops met the Dutch while they were still in their boats, pulled them out by the hair of their heads and stabbed them most dexterously. For a time the advance of the Dutch was arrested. Fresh troops were soon brought up under the command of Captain Ree and the Porcad contingent was routed.

Towards the close of December the Dutch resolved to make another assault. Bishop Sebastioni says that some days before the final assault the Dutch Commander sent two Captains with a white flag to the Portuguese Governor seeking an interview. General Ignatio Sarmento sent two *Palkees* to bring them inside the fort their eyes being blindfolded. These captains were accompanied by a boy, who, by some mistake was not blindfolded. The boy was intelligent enough to observe the condition of the fort, its defences, its weak points, the position and location of the defending forces within &c. He also carefully studied a map of the fort he found in the Governor's house. The information thus gathered enabled the Dutch General to successfully accomplish his object.

The Dutch General in conjunction with the troops of the *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja and the Paliat Achen at last determined on storming the fort. It was resolved to make the assault at the same point where the last attack had been made, that is, towards the Calvatti side. With this object a large frigate was sent to Vypeen to bring the men who had been stationed there. On its return journey the whole frigate was lost, as it accidentally struck on a sand-bank and foundered, all the soldiers and sailors on board excepting ten men, being drowned. The escaped men swam ashore and landed near Cochin only to fall prisoners into the hands of the Portuguese. This misfortune did not, however, make the General desist from the resolution he had already formed. The assault was

kept up continuously for eight days and nights, the troops being relieved every three hours. There was great consternation within the walls of the fort. Goda Varma Raja and his Nairs had already deserted the Portuguese to find shelter in a place of security. So also the Raja of Poracad. The battering rams of the enemy were hard at work demolishing the walls all round. There was a close blockade of the harbour, the entrance being securely guarded by the Dutch ships. The Dutch fleet commanded the sea. Towards the east Ernakulam was in the hands of the Dutch and the only source of food supply was cut off. All hopes of succour from Goa were given up. Within the walls most of the buildings were destroyed, men, women and children were wandering helpless in great alarm. The clergy were trying their best to console the distressed people in their great extremity. A penitential procession was formed to avert Divine wrath, but all to no purpose. The town was doomed to fall into the hands of the Dutch. For, on the Calvetti side a wide breach was already made and the Dutch entered the fort. The Dutch General had made a last and determined attempt to carry the fort. His scheme was to deliver the assault by night but a French Lieutenant under him named St. Martin advised him to defer it to the morning as there was great danger of the besiegers falling in the darkness of night into pits made by the enemy in the ramparts. At sunrise next morning every thing was ready and by 10 o'clock the assault was made by four Companies, each containing about 150 men, simultaneously on three points. The Portuguese fought most bravely and both parties lost heavily. The Portuguese had the advantage of being aided by two hundred men of the Dutch army, who had deserted and joined them in revenge for having been kept out of six and a half months' pay, in consequence of the loss of Touan, a town in Java. This made them unwilling to serve the Dutch any longer. Tavernier observes that without these soldiers who constituted an important aid to the Portuguese, Cochin would not have held out for two months. Among them was a Dutch engineer of great ability who, on account of the bad treatment he received from his own side, went over to the side of the enemy. At one point Captain Perre Du Pon succeeded in gaining a position on the wall and entered the town on the Calvatti side. The Dutch made themselves masters of a rampart, and remained all night under arms. The Portuguese General brought up a strong detachment to displace them, but they had to face a heavy fire from their

own guns captured by the enemy and turned against them from the ramparts already taken. In spite of this they fought fiercely. Peirre Du Pon however managed to hold out till reinforcements came up to his assistance. The attacks on the other parts were not so successful and resulted in considerable loss to the assailants. Simon Gomez de Silva and other Portuguese Captains had advised the digging of trenches and the barricading of the streets to check the rushing advance of the enemy during the day. But this served only to accelerate the fall of the town as the attempts on the part of the Portuguese to stop their advance induced the Dutch to press on with greater determination. As night drew on, the situation became most perilous. Bishop Sebastioni says that the air was rent with the yells of the victorious Dutch and the wailing of the suffering women and children within the walls. It was pitch dark, the gloom being relieved only by the flashes of firing guns. The sufferings of the inmates of the fort were intense. All hopes had ended, and to avert the impending carnage, a white flag was shown and two commissaries were sent early in the morning who were graciously received by General Van Goens. The capitulation of the town was agreed on and certian concessions prayed for. The Dutch General answered that it was too late to ask for concessions but that he would try to check all excesses. Thereupon the Portuguese General Ignatio Sarmento arrayed in mourning and followed by his Captains delivered the keys of the Fort into the hands of the Dutch General Rykloff Van Goens. The whole day was spent in burying the dead. The Portuguese carried off for burial the bodies of some clerics while the Dutch had the other dead bodies dragged to the river by the Chinese who were in their service. The wounded were removed to the hospital. All respectable women and children were given shelter inside the houses and all were supplied with passports. The Portuguese were allowed to take with them all gold silver and other valuables from the churches or as the Dutch chaplain of Cochin says "with their false Gods and images,"10 but were strictly forbidden from removing stores and spices. A bonfire had, hovewer, been already made in another quarter of the town of the ornamentations of some of the churches at the very church doors. The Portuguese were ordered to confine themselves to within their houses where they were promised

10. Vischers Letters from Malabar.

protection from injury. After this according to Bishop Sebastioni, the town was given up to loot for three days. The Bishop adds that the cruelties and atrocities perpetrated by the victorious troops passes description. The whole town was wailing. Those who were a moment before living luxuriously in palatial mansions were suddenly turned into the streets and had to content themselves with roaming about as beggars without having even a roof to shelter their devoted heads. Some high-placed ladies died of fright. But the Bishop being an avowed partisan we have to accept his account of the loot with some reservation. For Tavernier, a disinterested and independent French traveller, gives a different account. His statement as to what took place on the capitulation does not support the Bishop. "The Portuguese, according to the terms of the capitulation, left Cochin with arms and baggages, but as soon as they were outside the gate of the town where the Dutch troops were in order of battle, they were obliged to give up their arms and place them at the feet of the General, with the exception of officers, who kept their swords. The General had promised the soldiers the loot of the town, but not being able to keep up his promise for reasons which he explained to them, he led them to hope that he would pay them six months' wages; This a few days afterwards was reduced to eight rupees each".

Besides the regular troops who defended the fort there were four hundred Topasses(*10 a*) in the place, who had greatly assisted the Portuguese, but were not included in the hasty terms which were made when the place was taken. Fearing the Dutch soldiery in the hour of their triumph, these men drew up on parade, just within the Fort at which the Portuguese were to go out, and the Dutch to enter, and swore that they would take terrible vengeance, and set the whole town on fire if they were not forthwith

10 a, According to the Dutch Governor Moens the Topasses were the native descendants of the Portuguese. Some were slaves who had been given their freedom, others were the offspring of native women, with whom their masters had formed temporary alliances. After the Portuguese left Cochin they assumed the surnames of their masters. Prior to 1663 they had a Bishop of their own and a cathedral within the town of Cochin. When the Company took the place they came under their protection, and were allowed the exercise of their religion. They were placed under a Captain and four Ensigns, as well as other subordinate officers. During Governer Moen's tenure of office (1771—1781) four hundred and fifty of them, were drilled once a month to learn the use of arms." Moen's memorial quoted by Day p. 170.

treated on the same terms as the Portuguese. Van Goens attended to their request, and offered to take such of them as were willing into the service of the Dutch—a proposal to which many of them at once acceded.

The following were the terms of the Capitulation under which the town was surrendered to the Dutch, the treaty being signed on the 7th January 1663 at the headquarters of the Dutch army before Cochin and ratified by both sides on the following day.

That the town of Cochin be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, income, and lands with all documents and papers referring to the same and whatever else that may be there held in the name of the King of Portugal, rights and titles to the same being made over to the Commander or his representatives.

"That all artillery, merchandise, victuals, moveable and immoveable goods, slaves and whatever else may be there be similarly handed over to the said Commander.

"That all free persons who may have borne arms should swear not to serve against the Dutch State for the next two years.

"That the soldiers and all others belonging to the army should leave the town with flags flying, drums beating, fuses alight, musket balls in their mouths, and two field pieces, to some place outside the town where their arms were to be piled before the standard of the Commander. All unmarried trueborn Portuguese to be sent back to Europe.

"That the married Portuguese and Mestezoes should start for Goa and be permitted to take with them their beds and such other articles as the Commander and his council might allow.

That all free 'Topassen' and 'Canarins' *11 a* should remain at the disposal of the Commander.

"That the clergy should be allowed to take with them their images and Church oranaments, excepting such as might be of gold or silver.

"That all free persons, and those belonging to the Church if subjects of the King of Portugal and who might be wandering through the country should be included in this treaty."11

When everything was settled and the Dutch had assumed the Government of Cochin, the Zamorin asked for the town of Kodungalloor in accordance with the promise made to him, and it was given to him. The fortifications were previously demolished the walls only being left. Naturally the Zamorin was much annoyed at this but he had for the time being to put up with the displeasure. Soon after, treaties were concluded with the *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja of Cochin and the Raja of Poracad. In accordance with the original agreement with the *Mootha Tavazhi* Raja, that Prince was at once installed on the throne of Cochin. "A few days

11. Danvers—The Portuguese in Asia. Vol. pp. 325 to 327.

11 *a* *i. e.* Konganies.

after" says Tavernier, "he (the Dutch General) commanded some Companies to go to lay siege to the town of Cannanore which yielded at once without any resistance. When they returned the General had a crown made to place on the head of the new King of Cochin, the other having been driven away; and on the day which he selected for this grand performance he seated on a kind of throne, at the foot of which a Malbari called Montani (*Mootha Tavazhi*) conducted by two or three captains, placed himself on his knees to receive the crown from his hands and to take posession of a kingdom of very limited extent, that is to say, some small territories in the neighbourhood of Cochin.

Some writers[12] charge the Dutch General with keeping to himself the information he had received, on the day before the final assault, of peace having been concluded in Europe between Portugal and Holland so that it might not interfere with the capture of the town. It is also said that, on his being taunted with this by the Portuguese later on when the trick was found out, Van Goens coolly replied that he was only playing the same game which the Portuguese themselves had played on the Dutch at the capture of Pernambuco in Brazil not many years ago. The Portuguese did indeed repeatedly claim for the restoration of both Cochin and Cannanore on the ground that these places were captured after the peace. The treaty in question had been signed on the 6th August, 1661 and was ratified by the King of Portugal on the 24th May and by the States-General on the 4th December 1662 respectively. Its publication did not however take place till the 12th March 1663. By clause VI of the treaty it was only stipulated that those places that might have been captured *after its publication* were to be restored, so that the claim of the Portuguese was clearly untenable.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

---

12. Whitehouse page 17. The Abbe Raynal—History of Settlements and Trade in the East Indies. Vol. 1 page 218; Day. The Land of the Perumals, page 117.

In the preparation of this paper I have drawn largely from the following authors:—The Rev. Whitehouse—Some Historical Notices of Cochin—Jean Baptiste Tavernier—Travels in India Edited by V. Ball LL. D, Danvers—The Portuguese in Asia. The references from Bishop Sebastioni are from a M. S. Malayalam translation of an extract from his work in Latin, which I had the good fortune to come by—translated apparently by the Missionary Fathers of Verapulay.

A PEEP INTO OLD SCENES.

A few months ago, I had occasion with a party of friends, out on a holiday-trip, to travel along the main central road of Travancore. The variety and general beauty of the scenery, all through, are nothing new in the uplands of Travancore and Cochin. It was evening, almost five o' clock, when we came opposite the once famous shrine of Muthoor. It is a pretty little temple, situated on the top of a hill, that slopes gently towards the south, and past the road into a long stretch of distant rice-lands below. A halt was called, and we ascended the hill to get a closer view of the temple and surroundings.

What struck us most was the sublime solitude—a general feeling of isolation from stir and strife and humanity. Here, "all the air a solemn stillness holds." And, but for a faint sound that floated in the air, carrying a distant suspicion of country-women bathing and washing their clothes somewhere down below, one might have imagined one had risen far above this gross earth of ours. On the northern side, the ground slopes into a valley, and beyond that, is a line of hills, dotted with rich vegetation. From the western portal of the temple stretches a long lawn, gently falling till it catches sight of the road, where the torrents have cut a straighter though steeper way down. This was the ancient way to the temple, and it extends across the road further south, ending, we could not see where. The Goddess *Bhadrakali,* who rules from this modest height, has her face towards the east. So we took a walk arround and in holy perambulation came to the entrance side. Here it was all another sight. Hoary trees stretched forth their arms, the remnants of the mighty forests that once covered the hill. Over tiers upon tiers of rough stone-work, stood diverse trees of middle age, all blended together by festoons of *Ithil.** The courtyard on the entrance side is almost triangular in shape. At the apex is a dense grove of giant trees and creepers, gradually thinning towards the base. Half a dozen granite images, were tumbled about the yard, of men in all forms of devotion, stretched down. Not a soul was to be seen anywhere. So without permission taken or granted, we stepped in. In the frontal building

* (A parasite creeper.)

or *outer temple* there was nothing remarkable but a heap of saffron and flowers and faded cocoanut leaves. In the *Mandapam* or *middle temple*, were more saffron and fresher flowers, amidst which reclined in state the sword of the mighty Goddess, now grown grey or rather rusty brown in her service. The shrine or *inner temple*, the *sanctum sanctorum*, was locked. The woodwork had begun to decay and the carvings almost effaced. The trustees of the temple, well-meaning men in their way, have made some attempts at restoration. The beauty and poetry of it all has already been half spoiled. One cannot but regret the inroads of the huge Mangalore tiles of modern make. The shades of evening were already falling fast. So we performed our humble devotions to the "invisible" inside, and retraced our steps.

The contemplation of these sights kept us above the level of the earth for some time, but now as we descended, the barometer inside began to show signs of restlessness. Arrangements had already been made with the *Adikal*, the priest of the temple for our accommodation. Our host, a good-natured young man, "on hospitable thoughts intent," had cleared and brushed up a separate building for our use. A supply of vegetables and provisions soon followed. This added to what we had already in our conveyance was more than enough to satisfy any hungry being.

For our evening bath we were conducted to a pool of most refreshing spring water, at the bottom of the hill. It was more than a furlong from the temple, and it was from this same spring that the sound of washing clothes reached us above.

After bath and supper we had a long conversation with our host and an aged Ampalavasi, who told us stories of the antiquity of the place, its traditions, folklore etc, etc.

Between four and five hundred years ago, there lived at Cranganore (Kodungallore,) a famous magician, since known as *Devi Adikal* (feet of the Goddess). From his boyhood he was a devout worshipper of the Cranganore Badrakali. Early every morning (on his way to the temple) he could see signs of the Goddess having left her shrine on her nightly rounds. Though he had continued steadfast in his devotions for years the Goddess had not vouchsafed her presence to him. One night he was sorely tempted to watch the movements of the august Goddess. At midnight precisely she

stepped out at the head of her train. Our devotee was dazzled but managed to run and throw himself at her feet (hence one version says the name Devi Atigal). The Goddess was angry, and for his premature attempt, banished him her presence. As a palliative, he was given dominion over the world of ghosts and demons. From this incident are traced the divine magical powers of the *Atigals* of Muthoor.

That very night, the Raja of Thekkumkoor (comprising the present taluqs of Thiruvella, Changanachery Kottayam &c) had a dream. His heir had been struck dumb some time back and none around his court could effect a cure. The figure of Devi Adikal was disclosed to him in his dream and he was ordained to send over to Cranganore if he cared for a cure. The next day the Raja's snake boat appeared on the margin of the lake. Devi Adikal was pacing the shore disconsolately. The description tallied, and our *Adikal* was forthwith borne to the domains of the Thekumkoor Raja.

In no time, Atikal effected the cure, gifts were showered on him and he was asked to chose a place of residence near the Raja's capital. The present Muthoor, was chosen, and thereafter Devi Atigal's successors have been known as the *Atigals* of Muthoor.

About two miles to the east of Muthoor may be seen extensive ruins, which tradition gives as the ancient seat of the Thekumkoor Rajas. The vestiges of fortwalls and ditches and canals (now choked up) are easily recognised. The Thekumkoor Rajas seem to have had their capital in several places. Thali-kotta, the ruins of an old fort near Kottayam, is pointed out as one of their early places of residence. Within historical times (till 930 M. E. when Thekumkoor was captured by Maha Raja Martanda Varma of Travancore) the dynasty lived at Changanachery. The remains of this fort are still visible though a good portion has been dug up and levelled for the construction of the new Taluq Cutcherry.

However that may be, Devi Atigal was brought over to the Thekamkoor capital and installed at Muthoor. The whole country must then have been overgrown with jungle, for there is a tradition that the denizens of the forest recognized the magic and charms of the Atikals, and that their homestead alone was proof against the ravages of will beasts. Middle-aged men well remember the days when the hill sides had not begun to be cleared up, and the visit of

a leopard was no novelty. Our Ampalavasi recounted to us the story of a royal tiger fourteen feet long having been killed very near the present market-place at Changanachery. In his father's days, it appears, a notorious robber named Vanchippurakkal Kuriyan, shared the lordship over this domain with the tiger and the leopard. Whereas the wild beasts had their lairs in the jungle, the robber's stronghold was a tank overgrown with moss which is still pointed out by the road-side. So daring had the man grown that he used to waylay the King's tax gatherers and send a message of defiance that Vanchipurakkan had taken his share. The capture and execution of the man by Aiyappen Martandâ Pillay Dalawa at the head of a company of soldiers is said to be still preserved in song.

To return to our host, the Muthoor Adikal's is the only family of the *Adikal* caste in Travancore. At Cranganore where it is said there are more than half a dogen *Adikal* families, they are *Makkathayees*, while the Travancore *Adikal*, isolated for centuries past from all members of the caste, has become a *Marumakkatayee*. In Travancore, Brahmins consort with the *Atikal* women while the males have their *sambandam* in Nair families. Incidents like this throw a sort of side-light on the conservation of the *Marumahkathayam* system.

In Devi Atikal's time he had only a household temple of the Bhadrakali. One of his successors did some service to the Edappalli Raja, who is said to have built the present temple in recognition. In those days the Edappalli Rajas had a residence near the Thekamkoor capital. In the next generation the influence of the Edappalli chief declined. The Thekamkoor Rajas had already removed from near Muthoor. So the *Desam* came under the sway of one *Madathilakottu Potti*, a great jenmi who in those days used to exercise powers of life and death. The *Potti's* family became extinct more than two centuries ago. His quondam *kariastans* (managers) stepped into the breach as the Carlovingians stepped into the shoes of the Merovingians (to compare great things with small) till finally the lands of the *Devaswam* came into the hands of the *Karakar* (villagers). As human sacrifices were in vogue in those days, the *Adikals* had from time to time to secure the good will of the individuals dominant in the locality. Stories are extant as to how the *karakar* used to waylay the first stranger, that passed by the way on sacrificial days as an offering to the Bhadrakali. Both

here and in the adjacent Panayannarkavoo temple, human sacrifices were maintained up to the close of the last century (M E.) The latest victim at Parayannur-Kavoo was a native of Kayanculam, whose family (the Valiaveetoo) has in recognition been allowed the control of the affairs of the Devaswam.

In respect of caste status, the *Adikal* comes between the *Elayadoo* and the *Ampalavasi*. The male members eat at the hands of *Elayathoos* while the women do not. *Kattookalyanam* is an institution among them as among other *Maroomakkattayees*. The hereditary profession of the *Adikal* is magic, coupled with services at Bhadrakali temples. Of such temples, there are about half a dozen in Travancore, and the Muthoor *Adikal* is in responsible charge of all, though he sometimes deputes *Potties* (Tulu Brahmins) to perform the daily services. In the matter of magic and sorcery, the fame of the Muthoor *Adikal* even now stands high. Till the last generation, the Muthoor temple was resorted to by disputants near the locality for the purpose of trial by ordeal. A granite slab hollowed at the top is even now pointed out as the *Neiveetumkallu* (നെയ്വീത്തുകല്ലു) the stone wherein boiling ghee was poured for disputants to dip their fingers into, before taking the prescribed oath.

These things have passed into the limbo of forgetfulness and trial by ordeals has become extinct as the dodo or the moa. The past has a charm all its own. The old order, however, changeth yielding place to new, and for this we have only to congratulate ourselves.

S. KRISHNA AIYAR.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

THE present is a time of great activity and awakening in educational matters; in all countries,—in England, France, America, Japan, India and even China, men are devoting their earnest attention to the consideration of educational questions, and the solution of those difficult problems which beset the social, economic and religious aspects of education. On all hands we see with gladness earnest thought being devoted, and earnest, honest efforts being made towards educational progress. Female education is arousing more and more sympathy from an ever-widening circle of reformers, both Hindu and Mahomedan; while the Mahomedans as a community are bestirring themselves from their former attitude of apathy and indifference towards education, and with commendable zeal holding educational conferences, and even discussing the advisability of creating a Mahomedan university!; Mrs. Besant,—whatever may be said of her theosophy,—is doing very good work in the educational field; and on all sides we see teachers' guilds and associations being formed and educational matters discussed with an energy and heartiness hitherto unknown. At such a time as this I *need make* no excuse for drawing the attention of the readers to one aspect of this problem,—an aspect demanding our most serious thought and sympathy, *i. e.*, technical education.

What India most needs now is not "keeping an eye on the glacis of the Empire" as Lord Curzon puts it; not costly expeditions into Tibet and Somaliland, not territorial expansion, but economic improvement and industrial advancement, that would make the most of her resources and enable her teeming millions to emerge from a state of chronic indigence;—without which, acquisition of territory and strengthening of frontier defences will prove only so many more burdens tending to crush our helpless peoples beyond hope of recovery. Again, disputes about the forms of administration and the increased or diminished powers of the senate and universites are not of so much real importance as the question, "What ought the schools aim at producing, and for what order of things in the future ought we to prepare the rising generation"? If this question is important in England, much more so is it for us here in India where the old order is just beginning to change,

yielding place to a new one; and it will depend upon what education we give now to the rising generation what that new order will be,—one of material and intellectual advancement, or of national stagnation and retrogression.

'A national system of education involves,' says a writer, 'implicitly or not a definite theory of the right ordering of national life. The building up of a stable system of national education involves therefore, either a stable condition of society and equillibrium of social forces, or an extraordinary prescience of the future, and far-reaching adjustment of means to a definite end.' It might be well for us to ask ourselves, "Have we come to any such understanding as to what kind of cultivation we need most urgently? Have we any definite theory of the right ordering of national and communal life? And have our legislators and educational authorities any such prescience as to the future needs of the Indian peoples? I am afraid the answer to these queries cannot be in the affirmative. The fact of the matter is it is true of us as the Bible says., "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord." Our educational system has been moulded and developed by the English. Our universities are copies of the most modern of English universities, both in their constitution and syllabus of studies: and it is too much to expect that the child should excel the parent. In the matter of technical education, England has woefully lagged behind the continental nations, specially Germany. Half a century ago, Egland was unquestionably the greatest manufacturing country in the world. But, holding to the doctrine that rule-of-thumb is as efficient as accurate scientific study, her attitude towards a sound scientific and technical education had been one of indifference, till she has been roughly awakened from this lethargy by the discovery that she has been ousted from her pre-eminent position as a manufacturing country by both Germany and America. There are those who doubt whether a commercial education with its undue pre-eminence of selfish gain will go to make the better man for the national happiness and well-being. Nevertheless, all the great nations of the world are in a state of feverish unrest on the question of equipping for the industrial and commercial supremacy of the world. Whether or not it be the best education possible, we cannot afford to stand aloof from the general race. As Prince Bismarck remarked,

"the war of the future is the economic war, the struggle for existence on a grand scale; may my successors always bear this in mind and take care that when the struggle comes they may be prepared." Lord Rosebery has given eloquent expression to these ideas in his Rectoral address at Glasgow in 1900:—Remember the conditions: nations all becoming more dense and numerous, and therefore more hungry and more difficult to satisfy; nations more and more educated and intelligent, and more observant of one another; nations more and more alive to their substantial interests, and capable of pursuing them; nations therefore increasingly aware of the vital necessity of a healthy, growing commerce, and fiercely determined to obtain it; nations more and more civilized, and therefore less and less anxious for the wager of battle, and yet ready even for that, if it be necessary for their objects. After all, when you have reduced all this to its last expression, it comes to this,—the keener and more developed intelligence of humanity stimulated by competition and enhanced by training,—it is with this that we have to struggle and vie." It is the importance of this warfare of peace—this struggle for supremacy, nay for very existence,—that has been so long neglected by England, but realised and acted upon by such nations as Germany and America, and not least, Japan. While England has been spending millions of pounds annually on the Army and Navy, to hold the supremacy of the sea, and to keep open doors for her trade and commerce, the equally, if not more, important thing,—the proper intellectual equipment of her officers and soldiers in the industrial army has been systematically neglected. The result has been that it has "enabled Germany to ruin the English industry in the organic chemical compounds, to threaten the Indian indigo planters with extinction, to give to Germany a pre-eminent position in the manufacture of optical glass, and enabled her shipbuilders, to proceed with confidence to the construction of Atlantic liners that hold the record for size and speed: so that the phrase "made in Germany," which was once scornfully contemned and flouted as the worst indictment of tawdry and inferior make, has now become the hall-mark of excellence in many difficult arts and industries. So also it is sound technical education, coupled with bold commercial enterprise, that has been at the back of the much-talked-of 'American invasion of England. "The Great Two-penny Tube" right in the very heart of London

is all American,—except the earth in which it is embedded. The "Synthetic Devil" as we spitefully and jealously call it, is essentially the result of advanced scientific study and research fostered by technical education;—synthetic indigo, synthetic lac, synthetic camphor, butter and what not, are all so many triumphs of specialised scientific studies, and so many encroachments on what were regarded as special preserves by England.

It is these facts,—facts which cannot be overlooked or gainsaid —that has led eminent men like Prof. Dewar, Prof. Lodge, Mr. W. T. Stead and others to agitate about the necessity of scientific, studies in our schools, and generally to sound the alarm-note of "Wake up, John Bull!"

Prof, Wertheimer, in inquiring into the causes that have brought about this decline of England in the strife of nations, mentions the following as some of the chief ones. I shall mention them one by one, and consider how far these affect our own country, *mutatis mutandis*.

1. The defectiveness of the secondary school system. There are too many of these, and as a consequence they are ill-equipped, both in personale and material. More centralisation is needed to remedy this, to enable the school authorities to find the necessary funds to maintain really high-grade secondary schools. If this difficulty is great in England, it is far more so with us here in India, where owing to the vast distances involved, the multiplicity of languages spoken, the differences in custom and caste and creed, and the less advanced state of the country in general, centralisation is next to impossible.

2. A second reason he points out is the undue prominence given to classics, almost as a prescriptive right of ages, to the neglect of technics. The relative advantages of these two form a matter of controversy. No doubt, a sound classical education might so develop the faculties of the scholar as to fit him for any avocation in life. But the complexity of the scientific and technical processes involved in many of the modern arts and industries is such that a special training is absolutely necessary for them. Moreover, in the secondary schools, for one or two who really profit by classics by continuing their studies long enough for the classics to exercise their humanising influence on their minds, the many gain

nothing by it except a smattering of dead vocables, a vague remembrance of Homer and Virgil and Ovid, and a general contempt for all "vulgar" studies and occupations. Of that undesirable disease known as "cacoethes scribendi" (as clerks and gumasthas on miserable pittances of salary in Government Offices) which our present system produces, I need not speak much here. With us here in India, Sanskrit and Arabic are regarded as sacred languages, and thus they acquire an importance in the eyes of the pious Hindu and Mahomedan, altogether disproportionate to their practical utility.

Thirdly, there has been in England a very insufficient provision of the highest kind of technical, scientific and professional training adjusted to the needs of modern life. There is not in all England a Technical institution at all comparable to the Charlottenburg Institution of Berlin. In England the pernicious custom prevails of premium apprentices,—men who pay premiums, but have little or no special training. The British parent, unlike the German,—wants to put his son early to work, and to make a money-making machine of him at the earliest date.

In Germany, says a writer in the 'Daily Mail,' the university has in a measure been displaced from its position as crown of the educational edifice; or rather, the classical foundation now shares it with institutions of a later and more modern growth. The universities still maintain their high rank as training grounds in the humanities; but it is in the technical high schools that the keen business men with sound scientific knowledge are receiving their training......The technical high schools are an essentially modern institution. Established as trade-schools for the study of special subjects, they have widened their operations, till they stand to-day for the application of scientific knowledge in all directions to the special requirements of commercial industry. Of these technical schools there are now in existence nine,—at Aix, Berlin, Brunswick, Darmstadt, Dresden, Hanover, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart,—while two more are being added at Breslau and Danzig. The most important of these is the famous Charlottenburg technical high school in Berlin, whose object is "to give specialised training in industrial subjects founded on a preliminary scientific training, and to advance the sum of human knowledge. The very building of this school is worthy of the great city and people whose central institute it is,—more like a palace

or a national museum of a great empire, or the parliament house of a great people. The work of the school consists of six departments,—architecture, chemistry and metallurgy, civil engineering, mechanical engineering, naval architecture, and general science. Each department is complete in itself.

The course of training in theses schools is not only severe, but follows upon a severe preliminary education. No student is admitted as fully qualified who has not passed through the complete nine-year course of the classical Gymnasiums or the 'Realschules,' in itself no mean accomplishment. In each of these cases, a preliminary three-year course at a preparatory school has been taken so that it would be impossible to enter the technical schools much before the age of eighteen or nineteen; and indeed, the age of admission is fixed at eighteen. In addition to the preliminary training, chemists are required to have worked for three years at an apothecary's shop, architects must have completed a year of practical work at their profession, and engineering students the same period in mechanical work at some engineering factory. Every conceivable branch of technical and practical science bearing upon the subject chosen comes within the range of study. The fees imposed at these shools are extremely small. This, coupled with the fact that there are no endowments, entails a considerable charge on the State; but this cost is cheerfully borne, as there is no department of national expenditure which can be so directly traced in remunerative results. In one direction alone,—the vast chemical industries of Germany,—there has been the creation of a trade amounting to fifty million pounds annually."

I have attempted to give above a very brief account of the work of the technical high schools of Germany, the model for the nations. Lord Rosebery had been proposing to erect and equip a Charlottenburg for England,—but we are yet to know what has come of it.

If may be questioned, what shall we do with this carefully planned system of technical education? Can we transplant it to the English or Indian soil root and branch? Can we not take advantage of the thought and labour spent by the German nation, and copy them wholesale? As Mr. Twentyman says, "Systems of education are not like gas installation or electric traction transferrable from one country to another without change or loss." The German system is but a part of the German social order, and is

based upon the state control of education,—an idea yet foreign to Englishmen. (To us, alas, it is becoming an accomplished fact, without the compensating advantages which the Germans enjoy). And even if we could copy the German system, it is not possible or likely that the same results should follow with us; because a system which has been devised to suit the genius or the intellectual and social requirements of one nation will not suit those of another. Then again, it must be borne in mind that the mere copying of the outward details of administrative machinery will not reproduce the German system, any more than a collection of bones and muscles will make a man. It is the spirit of intellectual effort and devotion to the cause of truth that has made the German system what it is.

But, though slavish imitation is neither possible nor profitable, yet a thoughtful consideration of the best French and German methods, with due allowance for the differences of social, political and racial environments will no doubt help much in arriving at wise conclusions and deciding upon the most advantageous methods suitable to our industrial cases.

In this matter of education, the State cannot afford to stand apart. Education is but one aspect of good government,—yea, the most important part of it, on which its very existence depends. The State and the nation it governs, must stand or fall by it. Hence it is deeply committed to the task of aiding by every means in its power the work of educating its people to their national destiny. The apparent lack of interest of the English in this most important work is a matter of wonder to the Germans and Americans. We have the same lethargic spirit displayed here in India. It was six years ago, I believe, that the late Mr. J. N. Tata offered the munificent sum of thirty lakhs of rupees for a technical institute. That the Government has not yet seen its way to accept and make practical use of this grand offer, argues very little real interest and sympathy on its part. Even if a few thousands or even lakhs are to be added to the sum, will it not be money well spent,—better than on antumn manœuvres and Tibet missions?

We have so far considered technical education generally, and established its urgent need for national growth and prosperity. We must, in the few remaining words of this essay, consider its practical application to our conditions in India. India, as we all know, is chiefly an agricultural country, and shall continue to be so for

many generations to come. Neither need we be in any wise ashamed on that score, for her resources in this respect, if properly and intelligently developed, will yet prove a mine of wealth to her people. We notice with pleasure that the wheat exportation from India during the past year or two has beaten all records. The 'cornering' of wheat and cotton by American Trusts has directed the attention of British capitalists and manufacturers to their cultivation within the Empire. This is India's golden hour. If she takes this tide in her affairs at its flood, and rises to the occasion, it shall bring prosperity to her. She needs at this juncture men who can direct the various agricultural operations— of preparing the soil, of giving it the proper manure, of supplying necessary water &c., so as to make the ground yield more, and meet the demands of the foreign markets; men who are thoroughly familiar with practical chemistry, mineralogy and metallurgy, and can help the people of the land in bringing out the hidden treasures of the earth,—iron and the coal, the gold, copper, aluminium, mica and other minerals; men who have studied the subjects at European factories and can introduce and carry on the manufacture of soaps, candles, knives, scissors, glassware, china, toys, and the thousand and one things for which we now depend on foreign nations, but which, with a little enterprise, could be as well made indigenously. And whatever is done, should be done thoroughly and efficiently, so as to bear comparison with foreign makes.

What Japan has achieved by an intelligent and persevering study of western methods should be a lesson to us also; and if we follow in the same spirit, we too may achieve like results. One characteristic of the Japanese is eminently worthy of our imitation, —their thoroughness, and ambition to do or to make the very best only. This trait of theirs is illustrated by an incident I read of lately. An Englishman went into a Japanese shop and asked for a silver snuff box. He was shewn three boxes, with the beauty of whose work he was very much satisfied, and asked to be told what their price was. "You cannot have them" said the shopman; "for there is a serious flaw in the workmanship of each one of them, and I shall not sell them, but melt them again to be made afresh." This is the spirit we want.

The Government of India has made a good beginning in offering six technical scholarships for capable persons to go to

England, Germany or America to study some branch of industry that is particularly useful or practicable in the province whence the student is sent. But in my opinion this should be done on a more liberal scale. Six scholarships of £ 150 each comes to £ 900 or £ 1500 with other expenses added,—say Rs. 25000/—less than the annual salary of a commissioner of a district! There is room, and there is need, for ten times six scholarships. It seems to me also that side by side with the present system of secondary schools, there should be established something that corresponds to the Realschules of Germany: schools in each district where boys would receive elementary but sound instruction in the art or industry or occupation of the majority of the people in that district. This would be more useful than drilling them in the aridities of geography &c. In conclusion, I must say that our technical education just now should not be ambitious of impracticabilities, but "sober-suited," and adapted to the growing needs of a country yet in its infancy in modern industries.

K. K. BERNARD.

ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.

XII.—PERSONALITY.

[*Namarupa.*]

VARIOUS have been the views propounded concerning human personality, its nature and destiny. Brahminism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam, which are the leading animistic faiths of the world, teach that a man's personality or self is his soul (*psyche, pneuma, atman, pudgala*); which enters the body at birth and quits it at death. It is the invisible immaterial eternal ego which, knowing itself as I, remains the same in the midst of all that is changeable. It is the recipient of knowledge through the five gateways of touch, smell, taste, hearing and sight. It is the agent that is active in the movements of the different motor organs. It is the lord not only of the body but also of the mind. Though it may not be seen by the eye, nor reached by speech, nor apprehended by the mind, its existence has to be perceived by faith. Without a soul there could be no immortality; without immortality life would not be worth living. Without a soul individuals could not enjoy the fruits of their actions; there could be no rewards in heaven nor punishments in hell. Without a soul any recompense for one's deeds by metempsychosis would be impossible, and without transmigration it would be impossible to account for the differences between man and man in endowments, character, position and fate.

The Dharma of the Blessed One teaches that this animistic view is based on a wrong conception of the unity of compound things. A thing can be separated from its quality only in thought but not in reality. Heat can be separated from fire only in thought, but it cannot be separated in actuality. If the walls, roof and foundation-stones of a house were removed, would there be any self or soul of the house left behind? Just as a house is the combination of all its parts, so the personality is that peculiar interaction which originates by a combination of sensory and motor organs, perceptions, emotions, ideas and volitions. "Just as it is by the condition precedent of the co-existence of its various parts that the word 'chariot' is used, just so is it that where the *skandhas* are there we talk of 'being'" *

Man is an organism of many aggregates. He consists of various *skandhas*; material form (*rupa*); sensations (*vedana*); ideas (*vignana*); perceptions (*samjna*); and disposition (*samskara*). "Whatever is gross, that is form (*rupa*); whatever is subtle, mental, that is name (*nama*). Name and form are connected one with the other, and spring into being together. This is their nature through time immemorial." * That which is called the ego, which says 'I am,' is not an entity behind the *skandhas*. It is "the summary expression for the unity of the individual life, the same unity which appears to external sense as an organism with interacting parts and functions, but grasped from within." * The word 'I' indeed remains the same, but its significance is continually changing. It originates in the child with the development of self-consciousness, and denotes first a boy, then a youth, after that a man, and, finally, a dotard. There is an identity in a certain sense only. The sameness is constituted by continuity, just as we speak of the identity of a river or a fountain, though the water is continually changing; or of the identity between the flame of a lamp at one moment and that at another moment, although different particles of the wick and the oil are consumed in succession and the lamp itself might have been put out for some time in the interim. Accordingly, that which knows itself as 'I' is neither eternal, nor immutable, nor divine. 'I' is simply a word which signifies the whole personality of a man with all his sensations, emotions, thoughts and purposes. We may as well speak of the kernel of a water bubble as of the self which is supposed to be the lord of one's body, of one's mind and of one's character. "As for me," says Kant, "whenever I contemplate what is inmost in what I call myself, I always come in contact with such or such special perception as of cold, heat, light or shadow, love or hate, pleasure or pain. I never come unawares on my mind existing in a state void of perceptions. I never observe aught save perception......If any one after serious reflection without prejudices, thinks he has any other idea of himself, I confess I can no longer reason with him. The best I can say for him is that, perhaps, he is right no less than I, and that on this point our natures are essentially different. It is possible

---

* Milindaprasna.

* A. Riehl: Der philosophische Kriticismus: Zweiter Band (Zweitertheil), p. 198.

that he may perceive something simple and permanent which he calls himself, but as for me, I am quite sure I possess no such principle."

Cogito ergo sum. I think, therefore I exist. Yes, but the *I think* is merely the expression of the feeling of my existence, and I know by it only that I am, not what I am, and therefore not that I am soul itself thinking. What is originally given is not one's *self*-consciousness, but merely one's consciousness. Again, the experience *I am* is not simple. In becoming conscious of myself I at the same time become conscious of something not myself. No inner perception is apprehended as such without distinguishing it from a simultaneous outer perception and setting it in antithesis to this. No inner experience is possible without the simultaneous construction of outer experience. Neither inner experience nor outer experience is directly given, but only the consciousness which includes inner and outer experience in constant inter-dependence. It is this reciprocity of ego and not-ego that is originally given. The ego and not-ego mutually condition each other; the one is not even thinkable without the other, for their special features lie in the feeling of contrast between them. When the not-ego is completely effaced, as in narcosis or *samadhi*, the ego also disappears. Only a philosopher who preferred the absence of consciousness to consciousness would imagine the self as perceiving itself in dreamless sleep.

Those that see something inscrutable in psychical processes often compare the soul to a piano. "Ideas," says Herbert Spencer, "are like the successive chords and cadences brought out from a piano, which successively die away as other ones are sounded. And it would be as proper to say that these passing chords and cadences thereafter exist in the piano as it is proper to say that passing ideas thereafter exist in the brain. In the one case, as in the other, the acual existence is the structure which, under like conditions, evolves like combinations." But the inappropriateness of this analogy has been pointed out by Dr. H. Maudsley. Says the latter in his *Physiology of Mind*: "This analogy, when we look into it, seems more captivating than it is complete. What about the performer in the case of the piano and in the case of the brain, respectively. Is not the performer a not unimportant element, and necessary to the completeness of the analogy? The passing chords and cadences

would have small chance of being brought out by the piano if they were not previously in his mind. Where, then, in the brain is the equivalent of the harmonic conceptions in the performer's mind? If Mr. Spencer supposes that the individual's mind, his spiritual entity, is detached from the brain, and plays upon its nervous plexuses, as the performer plays upon the piano, his analogy is complete; but if not, then he has furnished an analogy which those who do take that view may well thank him for. There is this difference between the passing chords and cadences in the brain—and it is of the essence of the matter—that, in the former case, the chords and cadences do pass and leave no trace to themselves behind in the structure of the piano; while in the latter case they do not pass or die away without leaving most important after-effects in the structure of the brain; whence does arrive in due time a considerable difference between a cultivated piano and a cultivated human brain, and whence, probably, have arisen, in the progress of development through the ages, the differences between the brain of a primeval savage and the brain of Mr. Spencer...With the brain function makes faculty, not so with the piano."

The existence of an *atman* or soul independent of the body is an unfounded assumption. The soul, as a substantial something behind the stream of conscious state (*alaya ignana pravaha* and *pravrittivignana pravaha*), is a superficiality, and is utterly needless for expressing the phenomena of consciousness as they appear. A stream of conscious states, each substantially different from, but cognitive of, the rest and appropriative of each other's contents, is enough to formulate and describe all the facts of experience. There is no reason for supposing the existence of an experiencing self outside this series altogether. The mental unity called conscious selfhood needs for its growth no absolutely permanent elements in mental life. It only needs the presence in psychical life of some relatively permanent elements which change at a much less rapid rate than others. And such relatively permanent elements we find in the "organic" sensations and the habitual emotional tone which characterises them and in the predispositions which have been inherited or acquired in the earliest period of psychic life. Strictly speaking, none of these can be said to the really permanent and unchanging. The organic sensations of a man in the prime of life are not the same as those of childhood or of dotage. No psychical

element, whether it be organic sensation or feeling tone, remains permanently the same from the beginning to the end of life. But, as compared with the sensations and ideas which from time to time occupy the centre of consciousness, the changes in the organic sensations and the emotional tone are so slow within long periods of life that this relative permanency gives rise to the growth of a distinction between the permanent self and its incessantly changing sensations and ideas, an illusion, so to say, which it is the purpose of the science of psychology to dispel. Hence an eternal self or soul which remains the same without modification can have no psychological value. Instead of explaining the simple facts which it is invoked to explain, it can be rendered intelligible only by their aid. We may, therefore, say with Shadworth Hodgson that the substantial soul is an outbirth of that sort of ratiocination whose guiding principle is: Whatever you are ignorant of is the explanation of what you know.

The Dharma accordingly looks upon the self of which there is so much talk as an error, an illusion, a dream. Attachment to it can only produce egotism, and egotism is a craving for happiness here on earth and then beyond in heaven. Therefore the discernment of self cannot be the condition of emancipation from sorrow. The very search for *atman* is wrong, and like every other wrong start, it must lead in a false direction. "All false doctrines," says Asvagosha in his *Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sutra*,* "invariably come out of the *atman* conception. If we were liberated from it the existence of false doctrines would be impossible. The truth, it may once more be stated, is that there is not a soul that thinks the thoughts and shapes the character, but the thoughts themselves constitute the thinker, and the character of a person is itself the very nature of his self. To quote the words of a modern psychologist, "if the passing thought be the directly verifiable existent which no school has hitherto doubted it to be, then that thought is itself the thinker." The personality of a man is not constituted by the matter of which his body consists, but by the forms of the body, by the sensations, by the thoughts, by the actions. The personality of a man is the combination of all these. To quote Prof. James † once again, "the consciousness of self involves a stream of thought,

---

* Suzuki's translation, p. 106.

‡ Principles of Psychology, Vol. I.

each part of which as 'I' can remember those which went before and know the things they knew; and emphasise and care paramountly for certain ones among them as '*me*' and *appropriate to these* the rest. The nucleus of the '*me*' is always the bodily existence felt to be present at the time. Whatever remembered past feelings *resemble* this present feeling are deemed to belong to the same *me* with it. Whatever other things are perceived to be associated with this feeling are deemed to form part of that me's *experience*; and of them certain ones (which fluctuate more or less) are reckoned to be themselves constituents of the *me* in a larger sense,—such are the clothes, the material possessions, the friends, the honors and esteem which the person receives or may receive. This *me* is an empirical aggregate of things objectively known. The I which knows them cannot itself be an aggregate, neither for psychological purposes need it be considered to be an unchanging metaphysical entity like the soul, or a principle like the pure ego viewed as out of time.' It is a thought, of each moment different from that of the last moment, but appropriative of the latter called its own. All the experiential facts find their place in this description, unencumbered with any hypothesis save that of the existence of passing thoughts or states of mind." Similarly, says Buddhagosha in his *Visuddhi Margha*: "The words 'living entity' and 'atman' are but a mode of expression for the presence of the five attachment groups, but when we come to examine the elements of being one by one, we discover that in the absolute sense there is no living entity there to form a basis for such figments as 'I am' or 'I'; in other words, that in the absolute sense there is only *nama* (name) and *rupa* (form). The insight of him who perceives this is called the knowledge of the truth." In another place in the same book it is said: "Strictly speaking the duration of the life of a conscious being is exceedingly brief, lasting only while a thought lasts. Just as a chariot wheel in rolling rolls only at one point of the tire, and in resting rests only at one point; in exactly the same way, the life of a living being lasts only for the period of one thought. As soon as the thought has ceased the being is said to have ceased. As it has been said:—

"The being of a past moment of thought has lived, but does not live, nor will it live.

"The being of a future moment of thought will live, but has not lived, nor does it live.

"The being of the present moment of thought does live, but has not lived, nor will it live."

Just as fire, though not lying hidden in the two sticks rubbed against each other, originates through friction, in the same way consciousness, though it is no result of mechanical effects, appears under certain conditions and disappears when the conditions cease to exist. When the wood is burnt, the fire disappears. Just so, when the conditions of consciousness cease, consciousness disappears. Consciousness is known to us only as a phenomenon of life connected with an organism. Psychical states are only known to us as dependent on organic states. Changes in the brain are essential conditions for all our states of consciousness. Nor is the connection between psychic states and organic states as great as the connection between purely organic states. Organic states are permanent as long as there is life, but psychic states are intermittent even during life. While organic life has no break in an individual's existence, conscious life performs its functions only from time to time, needs the refreshment of sleep, and varies in activity even when awake. Life does not exist for consciousness, but consciousness for the sake of life. All this proves that consciousness can have no existence independent of the organism. This conclusion of normal psychology is strongly supported by mental pathology. Within the life-history of a single individual various selves appear and disappear in a manner which shows that they cannot be regarded as connected by any felt continuity of interest with the rest of life. Cases of multiple personality and alternating personality prove that a plurality of selves might alternate regularly or even co-exist in connection with the same body. Such abnormal psychic phenomena force on us the conclusion that the origination and the disappearance of selves in the course of psychical events is a fact of constant occurrence.

There are no known facts that imply a soul separable from the body. The phenomena of telepathy may be real, but they do not prove the existence of consciousness independent of the organism. The endeavours of the Psychic Research Society and of the innumerable spiritualistic and theosophical bodies have not brought to light any scrap of scientific proof of the continuance of human personality beyond the grave. Can any proof be expected from "a method of inquiry which is not repelled by the grotesquerie of the

'spirits', and which accepts balderdash as the poetry of Shakespeare, twaddle as the philosophy of Bacon, and the medium's thinly disguised person as the reincarnation of Socrates, the Virgin Mary, or the repentant pirate John King?" "Facts, I think," says Professor W. James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, "are yet lacking to prove 'spirit return', though I have the highest respect for the patient labours of Messrs. Myers, Hodgson and Hyslop." Professor J. H. Leuba concludes his searching analysis of the report of Professor Hyslop's seances with Mrs. Piper, the famous medium, with the following remarks: "Professor Hyslop's careful investigation may have at least one good result: the moderation of the disturbing wish of a certain class of people for a future life. They may learn to face the actual present more resolutely and wisely. For although its purpose was not to discover the condition of the "departed," what comes through is sufficiently significant to make the heart of the believer sink. Three score and ten will appear long enough to every one for that kind of life. However that may be, Professor Hyslop is certainly right in his contention that the condition of life in another world cannot be made an argument against its possibility. For the rest, if the worse comes to the worse, humanity will have a chance of showing its stoutness of heart in facing this hopeless, repulsive metempsychosis. And as to the Christian religion, forswearing its stupendous mistake regarding the future life, it would, let us hope, have grace enough to turn around and, instead of leading men to immortality, endeavour to deliver them from it, even as Buddhism."

Science afiords no evidence of the continuance of the conscious person after death, but on the whole it suggests that the conscious person has ended too. The only conscious life of which we have any experience or which is possible to imagine, is embodied conscious life. In his complete nature man is a compound. We can separate him into body and mind only in thought. Language reveals the true nature of personality. A person speaks not only of *his* body but also of *his* soul. Who then is the possesser of both body and soul if it is not the complete man, the compound? Just as we are in the habit of saying 'the wind blows', as if there were the wind performing the act of blowing, so also do we say, by a license of speech, that a person owns body and soul, performs actions, directs the emotions, controls impulses and so forth. But

in reality the totality of all these constitutes the person. Whatsoever a man does with his body, with his voice, with his mind, it is that that constitutes his person. Once the Blessed One was asked by some disciples: "What are old age and death? and what is it that has old age and death? The Blessed One replied: "The question is not rightly put. To say: 'What are old age and death? and what is it has old age and death?' and to say: 'Old age and death are one thing, but it is another thing that has old age and death,' is to say the same thing in different ways. If the dogma obtain that soul and body are identical, then there is no religious life (for the soul would perish with the body), or if the dogma obtain that the soul is one thing and the body another, then also there is no religious life (for if the soul were a distinct entity, an immutable atman, it would not be influenced by conduct and become better, and there would be no use in leading a holy life). Both these extremes have been avoided by the Tathagata, and it is a middle doctrine he teaches: 'On birth depend old age and death'."

The denial of a separate self, an atman, does not obliterate the personality of a man, but liberates the individual from an error that is liable to stunt his intellectual and ethical development and his attainment of perfection. The Dharma removes from life the vanity of self, which is the result of an erroneous belief in the existence of atman and karma as separate entities. As what constitutes a man's personality is his own deeds and aspirations, * he that holds his person dear should keep himself free from wickedness, and do good in every possible way. The Blessed One has said:

"Let any one who holds self dear,
That self keep free from wickedness;
For happiness can never be found
By any one of evil deeds.
"Assailed by death, in life's last throes,
At quitting of this human state,
What is it one can call his own?
What with him take as he goes hence?
What is it follows after him,
And like a shadow ne'er departs?
"His good deeds and his wickedness,
Whate'er a mortal does while here;
'Tis this that he can call his own,
This with him take as he goes hence.
This is what follows after him
And like a shadow ne'er departs,
"Let all, then, noble deeds perform,
A treasure store for future weal;
For merit gained this life within
Will yield a blessing in the next:"

P. LAKSHMI NARASU.

---

* "I am what on the whole I am conscious of having done, and what I propose to do"—Josiah Royce.

WHEN VIJAYANAGAR WAS BUILT?

IN the Government Oriental MSS. Library at Madras is preserved an old Sanskrit work called *Rajakalanirnayah* which gives an account of the origin of Vijayanagar and of the several families that reigned there. Mr. Robert Sewell has alluded to this work in a footnote in his *Forgotten Empire*. As the translation of the whole work may not after all be found to be very useful for historical purposes, I have during my leisure hours made an abstract translation of the same which I submit below to the antiquarian world :—

Vidyaranya, the disciple of Vidyasankara after completing his commentaries on the *Vedas* approached his master and made the following request :—Master, there are certain doubtful points in my commentaries and these have to be cleared up. I want therefore, to go to Kasi—Banaras—for, there are several sages there and I must have a discussion with them.

He obtained the permission of his master and was travelling towards Kasi. On his way, Vidyaranya met Sringi in the midst of the Vindhya forest. This Sringi was in the guise of a Brahmarakshasa, lean and famished and suffering from hunger and thirst. Vidyaranya asked Sringi as to who he was. Sringi said :—I am Sringi, a Brahman. In the *Tretayuga*—3rd era—I received too much gold as gift from Rama and on that account I am reduced to this state now. Give me some food for I am very hungry.

Vidyaranya said :—I am after all only a Sanyasi—mendicant. I am not in a position to oblige you. Sringi said :—All right; but you had better try your best to oblige me. You have completed your commentaries on the *Vedas*. Vyasa will soon grant you his approval. I shall take you to Kasi and to Vyasa.

Then they both proceeded to Banaras and met Veda Vyasa. Vyasa granted all kinds of miraculous powers to Vidyaranya and ordered Vidyaranya to construct a city bringing out all the Sakti principles of worship. That city, he said, must contain nine gateways answering to the nine openings into the human body. In such a city, Sringi must be given his food. Thus said Vyasa, and also repeated that if such a city is constructed, there will be nothing unattainable to Vidyaranya in this world.

After thus blessing Vidyaranya, Vyasa disappeared and Vidyaranya and Sringi began their return journey and reached Kishkindha. Vidyaranya worshipped the great God Virupaksha there on the banks of the Tungabhadra and sat in contemplation in his presence, when Sringi addressed him as follows:—This place is what was once called the city of Victory–*Vijayahvaya nagara*. In length and breadth it was once in each wise two yojanas.[1] Here stands in glory the mountain Matanga. This city has now been ruined by the perversity of fate. Sir, after thoroughly going through all the defects in its original construction, you would do well to re-construct it now. After thus re-building the ruined city, you must arrange to give me food in it.

When thus Vidyaranya sat near the Matanga mountain listening to the speech of Sringi, there came to him two persons called Sayana and Mayana. They worshipped Vidyaranya with great devotion and begged that they might be granted the boon of children. "Children are not assigned to your lot" said Vidyaranya and they hung down their faces with sorrow and said:—Then sir, we have with us abundance of money. Kindly accept the treasure and make us reach the meritoriousness of those who have children. Vidyaranya accepted the offer and wrote in their names his two works called Sayaniyam and Mayaniyam.

At about this time Vira-Rudra was conquered and made a captive by the Sultan (*Suratrana*)[2] and two persons with all the wealth of Vira Rudra went away to Ramanatha; and when Ramanatha too was killed, they, the two brothers,—Harihara, the elder and Bukka, the younger—came in the midnight to the fortwalls of the city (of Vijayanagar?) closely followed by the troops of the Sultan. They were, however, captured in the morning by the forces of the Sultan and taken before him. But he was highly pleased to hear of their capture and keeping to his promise, he gave the whole of the Karnata country with all the army to them. They gladly accepted the gift and crossing by boat reached Krishnaveni—(a place on the Tungabhadra perhaps). They fought with Ballala but were completely defeated. Exhausted and overcome with fatigue they sat down underneath a shady tree. One of the brothers fell into a sleep on the lap of the other. He had a dream and it was as follows:—A sage appeared before him in

1. Yojana=six and two-third miles.

2. Suratrana is the Sanskrit word used for Sultan.

his sleep and gave him a *linga* emblem of Siva and said—Henceforth success shall always accompany you in all the battles. All the gods will become favourable to you. You will soon acquire a throne. The sage said thus and disappeared and the brother awoke from his slumber and related his dream to his other brother. They both saw at once their defeated army already collected and standing before them. Vidyaranya also had appeared before them and blessed them with his blessings. After obtaining the permission of this great sage they marched against the Ballala king, fought, and completely defeated him and won his throne. Then they began to live in the city of Hastikora,[3] on the banks of Tungabhadra. Once certain hunters sent out by them to hunt informed them that their hounds were chased and driven back by a hare in a certain forest. When they heard of this wonder they proceeded to examine the spot and Vidyaranya also followed them. Vidyaranya at once concluded that that was the proper place for the capital of an empire and began to build a town. In the asterism of Magha falling on the fifth lunar day of the white half of the month of Vaisakha in the year Dhatu current after 1258 Saka years had passed away the city with nine gates answering to the shape of the human body was built.[4]

Thirteen kings[5] —all devotees of the god Virupaksha—shall reign over that city—Harihara, Bukka and others. Harihara shall reign for ten years. Then Bukka shall reignf or ten years. His son, Harihara shall reign for five years. Then Vikrama shall reign twelve years. His Son, Bukka shall reign thirteen years. His son, Dhenuka shall reign twenty years. His son, Ramadeva shall reign twenty years. His son, Mallikarjuna, shall reign ten years. His son, Ramadeva shall reign nine years. Then, king Virupaksha shall reign ten years. Thus, this family shall finish its course by a reign of one hundred fifty years.[6]

Then,[7] Narasimha shall come from the Tuluva country and acquire the throne for himself. He shall reign for three years. His

---

3. The Sanskrit name of Anegundi *Hasti=Ane*=elephant and *Kona=gundi* = corner.

4. Saka 1259=1337 A. D. and coincides with Dhatu.

5. The statements from here are prophetical.

6. This is the first dynasty evidently. Only 10 reigns ranging over 119 years are given 1337 + 150 = 1486—87 A. D. fairly correct.

7. This is the second Vijayanagar dynasty perhaps.

son, Tammaraja shall reign for three years. His son, Narasimha shall reign for six years. Then Vira Nrisinha shall reign for nine years. Then, Krishna and Achyuta, known for their fame throughout the world, shall reign for twenty and twelve years respectively. Then their brother shall reign commencing his reign on the fifty-second year of this family. He shall fight with the Yavanas[8] and die in battle. His throne and his city shall then be destroyed by the evil influence of time and by the defect in the (*Vastu*) architectural construction. The throne of this family shall thus perish.

Then some of the descendants of this family shall be roaming over the forest with the empty titles of kings for fifty-seven years,[9] seven months and six days and then a member of this family after becoming deprived of everything by the Yavanas shall undergo misery. Then Sriranga, though crowned king by the Yavanas shall lose his throne and becoming deserted even by his own men shall return from the east and seek the protection of the god Siva. Some will give him tribute. But he will proceed to Vellore (Velapuri), establish himself as king there and reign there for three years. After his death Vira Vasanta shall reign supreme. Then a certain Krishna shall reign. This is truth and nothing but truth. I[10] wrote this by the favour of Vyasa and kept this inscription concealed in the town of Anegundi (Hastikona).

Thus Vidyaranya is believed to have written this work *Raja-kalanirnaya*—which, however we need not assure our readers—is nothing but a bold lie.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

---

8. Used for Muhammadans.
9. 3 + 3 + 6 + 9 + 32 = 53 fairly correct + 1487 = 1540. Sadasiva fairly correct.
10. Vidyaranya.

—:o: ❧ :o:—

* THE GAYA OF MALABAR: TIRUNELLI.

THERE is at least one point on which Hindus of all sects and divisions are in agreement, and that is as regards the worship paid to the shades of the departed. Innumerable gods with exclusive claims to supremacy and homage, irreconcilable doctrines as to man's moral and spiritual interests, independent systems of cosmogony and theogony and important differences in rites and forms divide Hinduism into a number of characteristic creeds and cults—so many watertight compartments but for the connection of ancestor-worship which runs through them all. Every one who claims to come within the pale of the Hindu religion, whatever his sect or caste, is governed by a law of inheritance which divides a dead man's assets in the ratio of the spiritual benefits which he derives from the sacrifices offered by his relations for the repose of his soul. The offering is a sacrament of the first order, and, with certain castes at any rate, the only one in vogue. These oblations and not, as elsewhere, visits to the tombs and resting-places of saints and martyrs, constitute, mostly, the *motif* of the Hindu pilgrimage which is, often, a resort to the holy springs and rivers which meet the pilgrim's eye almost at every step through the length and breadth of India, which are held in deep veneration as especially consecrate to the worship of deceased ancestors and to which every pious Hindu aspires to consign his ashes. Of all these holy waters or *theerthams* as they are called, the most frequented as being esteemed of the highest sanctity throughout the peninsula is Gaya whither all the year round Panjabis, Madrasis and Mahrattas, princes, statesmen and saints, men and women throng by the thousand to secure prosperity and peace here and hereafter.

Tirunelli is the Gaya of Malabar. It is characteristic of the self-evolved, self-contained economy of Kerala that it has even pilgrim-resorts placed handy *i. e.*, within, or about the confines of, the country. Kerala is *par excellence* the land "which holds the souls of the dead to be the gods of the living"—where every family lives in a house looking over the resting-places of its departed members and containing chambers consecrated to its lares and

* For much of the information contained in this paper the author is indebted to an old cadjan copy of the *Sthalapuranam* of the Tirunelli temple, kindly placed at his disposal by Mr. V. Moothannan, one of the co-owners of the temple and a well-informed gentleman of unusually enlightened views.

lemures. And its people must have, from very early times, sought *theerthams* to offer oblations to their ancestors. It must at the same time be remembered that their social and domestic institutions have always penalised foreign travel far more effectively than any other system in the world. Some of the sixty-four *anacharams* or peculiar observances enjoined upon every Hindu Malayalee, especially of the higher castes, make it a virtual impossibility for him to leave his country without prejudice to his social status and spiritual interests. It is thus easy to conceive how the devout sons of custom-ridden Kerala to whom holy Gaya was out of reach sought and found, in its stead, an equally holy place of pilgrimage for them at their door, in Tirunelli in the Wynaad—a place not a hundred miles off Malabar, as the phrase goes, which, with its wealth of inspiring *theerthams*, immense underground labyrinths and impressive scenery, has ever since remained the Gaya of Malayalees, calling out to pilgrims to worship, tourists to admire and antiquarians to explore. Thanks to the railway, Gaya is now, no doubt nearer to the West Coast than Tirunelli, and day by day it is steadily gaining ground at the expense of the latter place. But there is no blinking the fact that the Malabar pilgrim's true, traditional destination is Tirunelli, and where he prefers the other resort, he does so on sufferance. The truth is that in this as in several other matters your modern Hindu has a trick of turning the flank of the inconvenient rule by resort to a fiction of *arriere pensee.* Thus we find that to this day no Malayalee pilgrim back from Gaya, for all the purifying ceremonies and ablutions he has been through, is deemed pure enough to re-enter his home and society unless he shall have performed the ceremony of *kalabhairavapriti* on his return to his native land in expiation of his interdicted travel.

The correct perspective of Hinduism—and this is true of all religions—is to be found not so much in its doctrinal and historical literature as in the lives actually lived and thoughts actually thought by the general run of its professors, and, for obvious reasons, it follows that the history of living Hinduism is largely the history of ancestor-worship. An account of Tirunelli with reference to the legendary version of the origin and sanctity of the springs, shrines and caves which form the landscape of the place and which every Hindu of Malabar looks upon as specially holy for the propitiation of his dead ancestors cannot, therefore, fail to be an important contribution to the religious history of the country.

The Western Ghats from the Periah pass to the Tamarasserí pass and eleven miles to the east stand out to form an elevated and exceedingly picturesque plateau of the average height of more than 3000 feet above sea-level, turreted by a number of immense peaks rising "hills o'er hills and alps on alps" to about 6000 feet. One of these, the Brahmagiri peak measuring exactly 5276 feet above the sea and running out at right angles to the Ghats for a distance of about 12 miles, divides Wynaad from Coorg on the north, while nearly four miles to the south of it, another, likewise, branches off from the great chain, lower in elevation and shorter in length. Between these two ridges the rich valley of Tirunelli stretches along for miles upon miles, watered by the Begur—a tributary of the classical "Kapila"—river which, descending at different stages, from the hill system which rises towards the western extremity of of the valley, flows almost through the middle of it in an easterly direction. The Brahmagiri, unlike the opposite ridge, touches the valley in gentle slopes, and, about six miles east of the westernmost source of the Begur, throws two low spurs gracefully sliding to the rice-fields below, not unlike the flanking balustrades of a Titanic staircase. In the embayment thus formed, beneath the very shadow of the towering Brahmagiri standing bare as compared with its forest-cloaked fellows all round and almost suggesting a giant's head becomingly uncovered in presence of his divine vanquisher, an unpretentious pile of buildings nestles and shily looks down on the south upon an unending chess-board of lovely fields—a smiling expanse of green, east and west and north and south, tastefully broken by the colonnades of tall, dark-coloured trees, rising in silhouette against the sky, from the bevelled banks of the bisecting Begur. This is the Tirunelli temple.

From a spectacular point of view the celebrated temple is, by no means, prepossessing. At the first glance you are dissatisfied with it, and as your acquaintance with it grows, the feeling deepens into distressing disappointment. It has an unkempt and uncared-for appearance, bearing, on almost every part of it, "Ichabod" in letters so large that he who runs may read. The whole structure strikes you as an arrant misfit—ancient splendour and present squalor, splendid ruins mated with jerry-built restorations. The shrine situated in the centre of a quadrangle rears its roof of burnished copper in pathetic protest against the miserable thatch

of the four wings overshadowing it on every side. The wings, again, totter and lean together—a dismal picture of gaping walls, mouldering beams, peeling stucco and leaking roofs, a crying satire on the fine, old foundations below. The court is paved with flawless flagging which is moss-grown where it is not dirt-buried. The massive, outer wall of the temple has left a tossing sea of broken masonry, its line quite traceable through its ruins, such as they exist. No vestige, however, remains of any *Gopuram* (gate-tower) though it is highly probable that more than one existed, and of imposing proportions at that. It is rather odd that the only approach to the temple worth the name is from the paddy-flat on the south, while the deity faces the orient.

Although the temple, buildings and all, is not much to look at, it presents, all the same, a sight which is, in the opinion of those who cannot be suspected of religious bias, a thing of joy for ever. Its hoary antiquity and accredited sanctity are, no doubt, factors in its popularity, but their address is to the intellect and not to the eye. What really makes it pleasant is the exceeding beauty of its setting, the loveliness and grandeur of the landscape around. Off the surrounding scenery the temple is an eyesore. Take the two together and the *tout ensemble* is a perfect picture of inspiring sublimity and bewitching sweetness, which baffles analysis and beggars description. If the reader wants to find this out for himself, he has only to take his stand by the temple and run his eye round. Commencing from the north he finds the whole temple dwarfed by the majestic Brahmagiri. And what better chance can man's work have against God's? On the south it is all a sheet of reposeful verdure which seems to roll up to the very foot of the mountain which stands cut in blue film on the horizon. The rich, piebald scenery that stretches away, west and east, on the flanking hills and on to the slopes of the Brahmagiri right up to the skyline is a study in chiaroscuro. Grassy glades alternating with lovely *sholas*, eerie, enchanted springs lost in wattled woods, giant trees shooting up from matted undergrowth, silver streaks of deep, gurgling streams gleaming through the emerald-and-gold crowns of *palasa* or pagoda trees, the melting melody of feathered songsters and the buzz of bees floating up in unison with the fluty music of lusty bamboos of which it may well be said that

> "Trees that whisper round a temple become soon
> Dear as the temple's self."

—this is the picture of Tirunelli. It is here, of all places in the world, that

> " Woodland rills and crystal nullahs gently roll o'er rocky bed,
> Flower-decked hills' dewy brightness towering glittered overhead,
> Birds of song and beauteous feather trill a note in every grove."

These "crystal nullahs" are a marked feature of the Wynaad hills, and one of them claims our special attention here. A tiny stream having its headwaters in the perennial springs in and above the nullah between where the temple stands and the spur on its western flank flows down into the valley, joins, after a course of less than a mile, a tributary of the Begur river, and, through this and other rivers, eventually enters the Cauvery. Due west of the temple the gathering waters of the springs have already formed into a stream with a decided bed of its own, which is at this point called Papanasini, "extinguisher of sins," so called in reference to its supposed efficacy in washing away sins. From the middle of the Papanasini a column of granite, called Pindappara, "oblation-rock" rises and is visible above water for about nine months in the year, beginning with September. The top of the rock is a perfect level, measuring about three square feet and on it pilgrims squat with their loin-cloths passed between the legs and tightly tucked in at the waist and offer water, sesamum and uncooked rice to the souls of their ancestors. A low masonry dam thrown across the stream, with an opening in the middle, close to the rock, ensures the constant maintenance of a sufficient depth of water for plunge, the only form of bath recognized by Malabar orthodoxy.

To the south-west of the temple, hard by are situated the holy spring or *theertham* called Kundika, and a shrine of Siva. The latter is a cell cut in rock and secured by wooden doors.

The whole place is studded with *theerthams* whose name is legion, it is said. But the following, in addition to the two named above are specially mentioned by the author of the *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, p. cccxxx :—

(1) Panchatheertham (a cluster of five *theerthams*).
(2) Runamochinitheertham (Redeemer from debts.)
(3) Satavinnu (hundred drops).
(4) Sahasravinnu (thousand drops.)
(5) Varaham (boar.)

South-west of the last-mentioned *theertham* is a rock called Pakshipashanam or "bird's rock" called after Garuda, "the king of

birds," which contains an amazing system of caves and underground passages, some of them said to be inaccessible. In most cases the entrance opens into a flight of steps. The caves are, some of them, large and vaulted, hall and chamber and cul-de-sac communicating with one another through winding passages of varying dimensions. Caves which look, for all the world, like regular rabbit-warrens sometimes open out into halls of goodly dimensions furnished with stools and daises on which *yogis* and sages of various kinds invisible, of course, to mortal eyes, are believed to be sitting lost in meditation. Those who have visited these caves—and they are very few, seeing that the physical obstacles are forbidding—speak to having seen aquatic birds with dripping wings emerging out of some of these caves, and tradition says that there are pretty fountains inside, difficult of access. Some of the passages are really labyrinthine and might well have given rise to the tradition that the temples of Tirunelli and Tiruvilvamala in the Cochin State, more than a hundred miles apart as the crow flies, are connected by a secret tunnel and that in days of yore when the two temples had a common priest to officiate he used to negotiate this subterranean short cut every morning and evening.

Not far from the temple there is a rock-tunnel to which is attributed the remarkable power of purging those who go through it of all their sins and giving them, as it were, a re-birth. The tunnel is called Punarjanani, "second mother"—an appropriate name, no doubt. It is a long, narrow passage—just broad enough to admit of a man crawling or rather creeping through—and it ascends and descends, winds and ramifies in every direction. It is all smooth sailing for the pious and the virtuous, but hardened sinners and sceptics, they say, are very rarely able to "do" the Punarjanani without some hitch or other more or less serious. Thus there is a story of a doubting Thomas who lost his way in the tunnel and regained it after vows and prayers. There is a Punarjanani at Tiruvilvamala too, of course held in similar esteem.

The legendary history of Tirunelli is contained in the *Sthala-puranam* of the place—a work written in indifferent Sanskrit in comparatively recent times in the unmistakable style of the sacerdotal chronicler and detailing a number of stories to account for the origin and illustrate the sanctity of the several sacred spots above described. These legends, though of no historical value

whatever in themselves, are at the same time important in so far as they give hints and furnish data for arriving at definite knowledge on the subject.

The name Tirunelli means "the sacred nelli tree" (*Phyllanthus emblica*), and thereby hangs the tale of the legendary origin of this famous temple. Once upon a time, says the *Sthalapuranam*, the God, Brahma, while peregrenating, borne aloft on his celestial swan, was attracted by a fine grove of sweet-smelling and beautiful trees at this place and descended to find, among other trees, a nelli tree and an image of Vishnu thereon. In an instant the image vanished out of sight. Filled with grief and disappointment in consequence Brahma offered up prayers when the image reappeared and he was thus addressed by a voice from on high:—"This is the most sacred spot in the whole world and especially beloved of Devadevesa or Vishnu whose image you have just seen. He will never quit this place." In pursuance of this divine utterance Brahma made a temple (where the nelli tree stood), consecrated it to Vishnu and entrusted its maintenance to two Brahmins, one, of the *gotra* of Atri and the other, of Kasyapa. He also ordained, for even the worst of sinners, worship and oblations here as the best passport to his salvation and the propitiation of his departed ancestors. The country hence took the name of Tirunelli or "the village of *dhatri* (or *amalak*)," these two being the Sanskrit names for nelli.

The holy Brahmagiri is the hub of the universe, says the chronicler. Worlds come and go, but "the saints' pinnacle," the favoured resort of *yogis* and sages including the divine sage, Dattatreya, stands for all time, unaffected by the changes around. Successive Brahmas have worshipped and performed sacrifices here. For the special purpose of keeping watch and ward over the Tirunelli temple, four shrines are said to have been created, *viz.*, (1) a shrine of the goddess Durga in the east, referring, no doubt, to the temple at Valliyurkavu also known as the "fish pagoda," two miles off Manantoddy, (2) a Siva shrine in the south, and (3) one in the west respectively represented by the temple at Trichaleri which every pilgrim bound for Tirunelli is required to visit and the famous shrine of Tricherakunnu or Kottiyur and (4) a shrine of Subrahmanya in the north, not identified as yet. The consecration of the Tirunelli temple is mentioned, in one part of the work, as having taken place on a Sunday, a *Subhayogam* day in the bright half of the

month of Chaitra in the year Angirasa, the fourth of the Bhrihaspati cycle,[1] the same as the consecration day of the temple of Tiruvilvamala.

The *Sthalapuranam* then goes on to point out that Tirunelli is the hallowed scene of many blessed memories and Puranic glories. It was here that Parasurama expiated his matricidal sin. It was here, again, that Arjuna did penance and won his miraculous arrow from Siva, and Viswamitra attained Brahminhood. The hero of the *Ramayana* too was drawn to this holy spot and spent some part of his exile, bathing in the *theerthams* and worshipping in the temple here.

(To be continued)

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL.

---

1. The last year of this name corresponded to the year 1872 A. D. The year is called "Angira" by the author which reminds us of the "Tamulian" practice (referred to in the "Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency," Vol. II, p. 247), *viz.* to leave the Sanskrit form uninflected and make a compound adding 'Varoosham,' or year in each case.

——:o: :o:——

A LEGEND OF S. THOMAS.

A cunning workman, Gundophar of Ind
    Seeking, his Royal palace to erect,
    The blessed Thomas (Heaven's Great Architect
Disposes all) does through a merchant find,
Who spends the gold for wood and stone designed,
    To cheer the homeless and the poor protect.
    No eye can mark the building all expect.
Merchant and saint in dungeon are confined.

But now, in death the King's sick brother lies;
    Him angels show "a House not made with hands";
Once more, ambassador from Paradise,
    Raised by the Life indeed, the dead man stands:
"All thanks, my brother, be to Thomas given,
    A glorious palace waits for thee in Heaven"!

E. DREW.

A WEIRD DANCE.

BY KANIKARS IN TRAVANCORE.

THE harvest season was nigh. The ripening paddy, green and golden, reflected the evening sunshine, and orange gleams of light lit up the intensely green foliage of the jungle stretching away to the East to a range of rugged hills, just putting on a mantle of blue in the deeper valleys. Giant trees threw their shadows across the road and awakened me to the necessity of finding a place to shelter in during the night. My *saman*, and my "boy" waited, till I decided to push on to a travellers' bungalow seven miles distant, or, to remain where I was. Seven miles in the dark was not attractive after a hard day's walking; so I determined to seek the hospitality of a night's lodging in the rich Nair landlord's house at the head of the valley and the flourishing fields of paddy. The Nair was a polite old gentleman who, to my surprise, spoke English fluently and he made me very comfortable in his *Padi-perai* or gate house. He was an old Sirkar official and was inclined to be communicative. After dinner he and I were seated discussing the habits and customs of the Malayalees, when the muffled sound of a drum reached us. "Ah!" said my host, "perhaps you have never seen a Kanikars' dance, would you like to do so?" Expressing my thanks, he and I sallied out, and this is what I saw. The dance was in propitiation of the *Baradevatha* of a house in the neighbourhood.

It means literally the household gods who have the premises in their guardianship—the presiding deity being Madan. The propitiatory ceremony should ordinarily be done every year just before the harvesting of the grain commences. It is commonly called the ([illegible]) feeding ceremony. The officiating Kani is generally an elderly and influential man who professes inspiration and knowledge obtained when asleep. The articles necessary to perform the ceremony are called [illegible] *Padukka* or sacrifice, and [illegible] or *Ashtamangalyam.* Paduka is for the adult gods or manes male or female called ([illegible]) *Chavu*, and *Ashtamangalyam* is for the virgins who have died called *Kanyakas* ([illegible]). A temporary pavilion or *pandal* had been erected in front of the house, and the courtyard known as the *mittam*—and from the canopy long streamers of tender cocoanut leaves, plantain bunches, and tender cocoanuts with their husk on, were hung. Bunches of areca nuts and flowers adorned the

posts and pillars and gave an air of festivity to the scene. Fires were burning outside, round which—for the nights were dewy and the air keen—were groups of people enjoying the warmth, and gossiping. The primitive oil lamp appeared in places, while the smoky kerosine tin lamp, without chimney, was much in evidence and tainted the pure atmosphere. Small heaps consisting of boiled rice (*pori*) paddy, one tender cocoanut, a sprig of areca nut flowers, betel, nut were placed on plantain leaves in seven definite spots. The officiating Kanikaran, dressed in his usual every day costume, except his covering cloth, after formally getting the permission of the assembled spectators and persons interested in the ceremony, and especially of one who subsequently appeared on the scene as the chief dancer, began a monotonous chant, in what appeared to be a mixed language. Parts of this singing were wholly unintelligible, but it was understood to be a history of the beginning of earthly things, a record of the life and doings of the souls departed this life whose protection was prayed for, and a prayer for the souls of those persons for whose benefit the ceremony of propitiation was in progress. Now and again the feelings of the narrator or singer would overcome him, and he would indulge in a shout, or an emphatic gesticulation. This went on for about three or four hours, punctuated at intervals by the firing of petards or of old smooth-bore guns, shouts and *Kurava* cries. A Kurava cry is the ululation, in a shrill tone by Malayalee women at all important ceremonies. The crowd of people present did not mind the chanting much, but talked apart in groups, gossiped, warmed themselves at the various fires and seemed to enjoy the midnight picnic immensely. Before the chanting terminated a large heap of the red *thetti poo* (*Ixora coccinea*) about a yard square at the base, had been raised in the centre of the pandal and it was prettily picked out with areca flowers in artistic designs. I was getting tired of this endless noise and was expecting to see the old Kanikar begin his attitudinising and dancing when the horrible sound of a human voice roaring like a wild beast aroused every one to a sense of activity. From behind the hut came the man mentioned earlier in this paper and he was very primitively clothed indeed, his hair hanging loose, his eyes staring and what appeared like foam at his mouth. He would stand, run short distances, leap, sit, agitate his body and dance keeping step to the rythmic and muffled beating of the drum, and this he

did for ten minutes or so. Suddenly, with a shout, he dived into the hut specially set apart as the feeding place of the god Madan and presently appeared with two long sticks adorned at their ends with bells which emitted a jingling sound. The frenzy of motion, ecstatic, unregulated and ungovernable was apparently infectious, for a young man hitherto a silent spectator of the scene gave a shout and began to dance wildly throwing up his arms and stepping out quite actively. This encouragement stimulated the original performer, for he caught a man standing near, by the neck, thrust the stick with the bells into his hand and he thereupon started dancing as well. In about ten minutes there were about half a dozen wild dancing dervishes, shouting, gesticulating, revolving and most certainly in an abnormal state of excitement. Not contented with this, a dying but still glowing heap of fire and ashes became the centre of attraction, for the chief dancer danced over the fire and sent the sparks flying and scattered the wood and evoked the admiration and eulogies of the crowd. Streaming with perspiration, spotted with woodashes, wild, dishevelled and exhausted, the chief dancing demoniac stepped under the pandal and finally sat himself before the heap of the red *thetti poo* and tossed the cool red dewy blossoms over his head in a kind of shower bath. He was assisted in this by the old Kanikar and other bystanders. Sitting thus, a little boy was brought before him and he (the man in the flowers) called the lad by a name. And this was his christening ceremony, for the lad assumed the name from that date. The chief dancer then stood up and appeared to be in a possessed state still, and immediately, a fine old rooster was brought in, and its throat was cut by the Kanikar and handed to the dancer who eagerly applied his lips to the gaping wound and drained the blood swallowing the fluid audibly. Before relinquishing his hold of the bird he swayed and fell on the ground in what seemed to be a swoon. This indicated that the sacrifice had been acceptable, that the propitiation was perfected and that all the wishes of the persons interested in them would be granted. The crowd then set to eating and drinking the sacrificial elements and dispersed an hour or two after—the drums for a wonder remaining silent after the ceremony.

Returning to my host's it was bright moonlight. The air was keen, fleecy mists crept up the hill sides, the familiar forest trees looked ghostly and mysterious and I could not help contrasting the calm and stillness so characteristic of Nature in her milder moods with the noise, excitement, and vain imaginings of the Kanikars in their propitiatory ceremony to the unknown God.

A. P. SMITH.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following publications :—

(1) Indian Problems connected with Education, Agriculture and Land Revenue :—By the Rev. A. Andrew. (Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras).

(2) The Indian Castes :—By J. A. Saldanha, B. A., LL. B.

(3) Indian Folklore.

(4) Theosophy and Christianity :—(Reprinted from the Indian Catholic Examiner).

We beg to announce to our constituents that the *Review* has entered upon the fourth year of its existence with the current number. We take this opportunity of thanking our contributors and subscribers for the valuable help they have been pleased to render us. It is uphill work conducting a decent journal in the present state of journalism in this country. An undertaking like ours cannot be a success without the co-operation of our men of light and leading. We hope and pray that they may be pleased to lend us a helping hand in our arduous undertaking by contributing to the pages of the journal and supplying us with the sinews of war which are so necessary to give stability to our venture.

This number contains four extra pages.

—:o:—